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LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

LACUS FORUM

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of Canada and the United States

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PREFACE

The 42nd annual LACUS Forum was held at Molloy College in Rockville Centre, New York, from August 4 to 7, 2015. The theme of the conference was "Language and Society," a theme that allowed for a wide-ranging exploration of the ways in which language and society interact as revealed through linguistic study.

The Forum opened with a welcome by Dr. Drew Bogner, President of Molloy College, who expressed his gratitude for the research endeavors that the linguists had brought to share with their participants and the college's students. Invited keynote speakers provided their unique perspectives on the theme. Mark Aronoff of Stony Brook University gave the opening keynote "Language Structure and Society Structure," during which he discussed his research on the development of Bedouin sign language. The second keynote was by K. David Harrison of Swarthmore College, who spoke on endangered languages around the world, and the final talk was by Dorit Kaufman of Stony Brook University, who presented her study on "Language Attrition in Immigrant Children."

In accordance with the theme of "Language and Society," the papers and workshops covered a wide range of topics. From topics such as Barrantes and Olivares' study on pragmatics and EFL teaching to Li's work on semantic features such as animacy in English and Mandarin, presenters offered participants a wide range of research (on many languages) with both local and international appeal. Coleman's "Theoretical and Practical Consequences of Chomsky's Assumed Separation of 'Mental Devices for Learning and Understanding" challenged Chomsky's model that assumes there are separate cognitive processes for language understanding and language learning and suggests an approach that involves the constructs of *breadth of association* and *limits of association*. Several papers carried on Harrison's plenary theme of endangered languages, including White's paper on social dynamics affecting language education in the contexts of endangered languages and Yerastov and Zykin's paper on Shor.

The President's Prize was awarded to Troy E. Spier of Tulane University for his paper on "The Nominal Class System of IcAushi," a little documented and endangered language. The Presidential Address was delivered by Peter Maher, Professor Emeritus of Linguistics at Northeastern Illinois University. He spoke on the topic "From Birth Pangs to Grey Hairs."

The editors would like to express her thanks to the reviewers Connie Eble, Peter Maher, Stephen Straight, Sheila Embleton, Robert Orr, Doug Coleman, Rennie Gonsalves, Bill Sullivan, and Andrea Honigsfeld. She would also like to thank her colleague S. Alexandria Wolochuk, O.P., for selflessly taking on the role of cohost, the Division of Education led by Dean Maureen Walsh and Associate Dean Joanne O'Brien; the English Department, whose chairperson Robert Kinpoitner offered meeting space and other essential support; her colleagues Carrie McDermott, Amy Eckelmann, and Vicky Giouroukakis for bringing their students, alumna and colleague Faith Tripp, and students Nick DiBenedetto and Brian Lima for their invaluable help.

Jacqueline Nenchin

THE NOMINAL CLASS SYSTEM OF ICAUSHI

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Tulane University

Abstract. With only a single word list available and a few scattered ethnographic accounts, the IcAushi language (M.402) of Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo remains extremely underdocumented. This paper considers these sources and draws from the only linguistic source, a word list from over eighty years ago, to propose the nominal class system. In pursuit of this task, preliminary information about the phonological and morphological systems is uncovered and necessarily engaged. Although the nuanced details about tonology are presently unavailable, this study provides the first formal treatment of nominal class prefixes in IcAushi.[1]

> "It is a cause for concern, however, that Africa,
> with its wealth of languages, seems to be
> seriously under-documented."[2]

1. INTRODUCTION. WHILE THE GLOBAL DOCUMENTATION AND ANALYSIS of natural languages has increased drastically during the last twenty years, likely as a response to the extraordinarily high estimates for the impending widespread extinction of languages through analogues to the biological world (e.g., Harrison 2007, Nettle and Romaine 2002), the languages of the African continent remain greatly undescribed. For example, Lewis (2005:24), after examining one hundred languages from throughout the world and calculating the likelihood of endangerment based on the nine criteria established by UNESCO, stated that, "The most alarming conclusion to be drawn from this analysis […] is the huge difference in the amount of data available from Africa and the other regions of the world." In fact, the disparity is so large that even with an estimated ten thousand published works on Bantu languages, much of this data arrives simply in the form of word lists and brief grammatical sketches (Schadeberg 2003). While these sources of data are certainly useful, they serve to mitigate the larger issue only temporarily. Batibo (2006), for

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[1] This paper was presented at the annual conference of LACUS and both submitted and approved for publication in 2015. Hereafter, fieldwork among the Aushi was undertaken for two consecutive summers, resulting in three different works that shed greater light on some of these issues, all written by the author: "Nominal Phrase Structure in Ikyaushi (M.402)" (2022, *Studies in African Languages and Cultures*, 56: 31-47), "Four Trickster Tales from Lwapula Province, Zambia" (2021, *World Literature Today*, Autumn: 68-72), and *A Descriptive Grammar of Ikyaushi* (2020, Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane University, USA). To this end, the reader is also encouraged to consult these more recent publications for a fuller picture.
[2] This quote is taken directly from Lewis (2005:24).

instance, proposes that only through the extensive description, analysis, and codification of these languages will a more positive ethnolinguistic vitality be witnessed. As such, this paper provides a brief introduction to the nominal class system in IcAushi[3], a Bantu language (M.402) spoken in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

2. GENERAL BACKGROUND. Defining the Aushi[4] as a separate ethnic and/or linguistic group has proven to be an elusive task for scholars. The general consensus is that the Aushi reside primarily in the Luapula Province of Zambia with smaller numbers in the bordering Katanga Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, estimates of the population size in the former are wildly disparate, while no data is readily available for the latter. At the time of his writing, Doke (1933) stated that the Aushi numbered at least thirty thousand, while more recent estimates from the 2010 and 2014 Zambian Censuses place the total population between 200,000 and 225,000. Furthermore, these same documents note that just under one percent of the population speaks Aushi, i.e., approximately 100,000 individuals. It has been suggested to the author, however, that members of the Aushi have claimed affiliation as Bemba in official documents, perhaps encouraged by the fact that the Bemba are more widespread and speak a provincially prestigious language. Consequently, the numbers listed in the censuses might not provide an accurate reflection of the current population.

Previous literature on the Aushi is extremely limited almost entirely to decades-old ethnographic accounts. Barnes (1926), for instance, provides a treatment of iron smelting practices among the Aushi and describes the process of establishing and using kilns. Philpot (1936) discusses the tribal deity *Makumba*, who served a somewhat more symbolic role alongside the more frequently worshipped *Lesa*. He also provides us with a preliminary timeline for the succession in tribal leadership and the transposition of the Aushi to the Luapula Province. Whiteley (1951) presents an ethnographic account of the major ethnic groups in Northern Rhodesia, modern-day Zambia, and includes a small section on everyday life among the Aushi. Kay (1964) describes the everyday structure of the village of Chief Kalaba, one of the historic leaders, and focuses primarily on daily tasks for survival, viz. endeavors related to agriculture, fishing, and hunting. Chesnaye (1901) situates the Aushi geographically while on a trip unrelated to this group, and a few musical recordings also exist (Lushi 1957; Tracey 1974, 1986, 1992). Finally, Chimba (1949) provides a historical account of the group in CiBemba, itself a revision of an earlier work by Labrecque (1938). These texts paint a historic picture of the economic, religious, and social practices of the Aushi, though their modern relevance should be questioned given the extensive amount of time that has passed.

IcAushi is a Bantu language of the larger Niger-Congo family, and it belongs to the M subfamily, as illustrated in the figure below. The exact relationship between the IcAushi and CiBemba languages has not yet been identified, though it appears to be more closely related to CiBemba than to Taabwa or Bwile, illustrated by the Bantu numbering conventions.

Niger-Congo
    Atlantic-Congo

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[3] Languages will be presented with their nominal class prefix, and common orthographic conventions in Bantu studies are retained here, viz. often <c> represents [tʃ], <ng'> represents [ŋ], and <v> represents [β]. Following Doke (1933), long vowels are represented orthographically with a bar above, e.g., <ā> for [a:]. Slashes represent phonemes, square brackets represent phones, and angular brackets represent graphemes.

[4] IcAushi – or Aushi – is the most widespread name for their language, though it is also recorded as Avaushi, Ushi, Usi, Uzhil, and Vouaousi, referring to the ethnic group instead of the language.

Volta-Congo
  Benue-Congo
   Bantoid
     Southern
       Narrow Bantu
       Central
          M. Bemba Group
            M.41 Taabwa, Rungu
            M.42 Bemba, Wemba
            M.401 Bwile
            M.402 Aushi, Usi

Some speakers believe that IcAushi is simply a dialect of CiBemba, a view supported by Marten and Kula (2008:293-295) when they suggest that the entire M subfamily is actually a cluster of dialects. On the other hand, other speakers believe that IcAushi and CiBemba are separate languages that are now converging due to continued contact, resulting in the belief that IcAushi is actually becoming more like CiBemba. Nonetheless, additional research is necessary to develop a more nuanced understanding of the current ethnolinguistic vitality and genetic relationships among these languages.

Still, Doke's (1933) collection remains the only true linguistic account of the IcAushi language. Unfortunately, there are a few shortcomings inherent in the data that present some difficulties for this study, some of which have been overcome and some of which remain unresolved, necessitating future fieldwork. Firstly, Doke acknowledges that he is collecting the data strictly to fill an entry in a generic encyclopedia reference to the language. Based on analogy to the others included in this encyclopedia, approximately half of the IcAushi data contains nouns that refer only to humans, human roles, and other animates, thereby limiting the size and content of the corpus. Secondly, he only consulted two native speakers of the language while collecting these data. Thirdly, while the vowel length and nasal assimilation are sometimes represented orthographically, there is no reference made to the tonal system present in the language. Comparisons to the related CiBemba language might lead one to believe that a high-low contrast is present in IcAushi; however, this has not yet been confirmed. And finally, while Doke provides a copy of a narrative he elicited while in the field, he utilizes only a loose English translation and does not provide any interlinear glosses. As such, no specific attention is paid to any morphological variation or morphophonological processes. The overall breakdown of lexical items by category is listed below.

Table 1: Corpus by Lexical Category

Lexical Category	Amount	Percentage
Noun	287	73.03%
Verb	30	7.63%
Numeral	21	5.34%
Adjective	20	5.09%
Preposition	15	3.82%
Pronoun	12	3.05%
Interjection	5	1.27%
Particle	2	0.51%
	392	100.00%

3. NOMINAL CLASS SYSTEM. Although not specific only to Bantu languages, nominal class systems are often recognized as a very salient feature of this Niger-Congo subfamily. At the most basic level, these systems comprise a series of morphological prefixes, functioning similarly to grammatical gender, that are used in the formation of singular and plural nouns, nominal derivation, agreement marking, etc. Many contemporary scholars agree that nouns are categorized into specific groups, i.e., singular-plural pairings, according to semantic taxonomies. In fact, it is believed that this system has existed since Proto-Bantu and was organized along the following basis.

Table 2: *Proto-Bantu Nominal Classes*[5]

Noun Class	Prefix	Semantic Taxonomy
1	*mo-	humans, other animates
2	*va-	
1a	*ø-	kinship terms, proper names
2a	*βɔ-, *βa-	
3	*mo-	trees, plants, non-paired body parts, other inanimates
4	*me-	
5	*le-	fruits, paired body parts, natural phenomena
6	*ma-	
7	*ke-	liquid masses
8	*βi-, *li-	
9	*ne-	animals, inanimates
10	*li-ne	
11	*lo-	long thin objects, abstract nouns
12	*ka-	diminutives
13	*to-	
14	*βo-	abstract nouns, mass nouns
15	*ko-	infinitive[s]
16	*pa-	near (locative)
17	*ko-	remote (locative)
18	*mo-	inside (locative)
19	*pi-	diminutives
20	*ɣo-	augmentative (diminutive)
22	*ɣa-	
21	*ɣe-	augmentative pejorative

Based on the data presently available, IcAushi distinguishes seventeen nominal classes, two of which divide into subclasses. The majority of nouns retain both an augment and a prefix, the former utilizing a maximally distinctive vowel (/i/, /a/, or /u/) that matches the vowel present in the prefix, excluding Classes 9a/10 and barring instances of morphophonological processes. While the majority of these prefixes are inflectional and are necessarily bounded to the root, i.e., neither the prefix nor the root retains meaning without one another, the locative prefixes are derivational and remain farther away from the root. For instance, consider the construction *pamushi* ('at the

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[5] Adapted from Welmers (1973:165) and Demuth (2000:272-275).

village'), which contains the Class 3 and Class 18 locative prefixes. The table below represents the current proposed nominal class system.

Table 3: *IcAushi Nominal Classes*

Class	Augment	Class Prefix	Examples	Gloss
1a	u-	mu-	umukasi	'wife'
1b	Ø-	Ø-	mayo	'mother'
2	(a-)	va-	avakasi	'wives'
			vamayo	'mothers'
3	u-	mu-	umuti	'tree'
4	i-	mi-	imiti	'trees'
5	i-	si-	isina	'name'
6	a-	ma-	amana	'names'
7	i-	ci-	iciva	'dove'
8	i-	fi-	ifiva	'doves'
9a	i-	n-	imfinsi	'darkness'
9b	u-	lu-	ulusiku	'day'
10	(i-)	n-	insiku	'days'
			ng'kalamu	'lion'
12	a-	ka-	akasinsi	'island'
			akalulu	'little hare'
13	u-	tu-	utunwa	'mouths'
14	u-	bu-	ubwato	'canoe'
			ubwang'a	'magic'
15	u-	ku-	ukusita	'to buy'
			ukuvoko	'arm'
16	Ø-	pa-	pamusi	'at the village'
17	Ø-	ku-	kumusi	'to the village'
18	Ø-	mu-	mumusi	'in the village'

Although many of the examples provided lend themselves well to a prototypical singular-plural pairing, there are some exceptions. For example, Classes 9/10 form a pair in many other Bantu languages; however, the IcAushi data demonstrate that a 9/6 pairing is also attested, e.g., *ulukasa* ('foot'), *ulupi* ('palm'), etc. take *ama-* in the plural and not *in-*. Additionally, there is also a 14/6 pairing, e.g., *ubwang'a/amang'a* ('magic') and *ubwato/amāto* ('canoe'). Class 6, marked by the prefix *ama-*, contains the most productive plural morpheme, responsible for marking plurality for nouns of five separate singular prefixes. On the other hand, Classes 2 and 4 account for exactly fifty percent of the nouns in the corpus, which is a logical result of the types of words collected by Doke (1933). All of the attested singular-plural pairings identified based on the available data are shown below with an example and singular gloss for each.

Table 4: IcAushi Noun Pairings

Singular	Plural	Example	Gloss
1	2	umunaŋgi-avanaŋgi	'companion'
1a	2	kolwe-vakolwe	'baboon'
3	4	umunyaŋu- iminyaŋu	'ant'
5	6	isavi-amavi	'fish'
7	8	icinsiŋgwa-ifinsiŋgwa	'ghost'
8	6	ifito-amato	'[piece of] charcoal'
9b	10	ulutanda-intanda	'star'
9	6	ilini-amani	'egg'
10	2	ŋkasi-vakasi	'sister'
12	13	akasuva-utusuva	'sun'
14	6	ubwato-amāto	'canoe'
15	6	ukuveya-amaveya	'shoulder'
15	4	ukukonso-imikonso	'leg'

There are, however, some exceptions to these singular-plural pairings, the most recognizable being that singular nouns which refer to humans, human roles, or other animates might take a Class 2 prefix in the plural, e.g., *akalulu* ('hare') is a diminutive belonging to Class 12 and takes a Class 12 verbal prefix when in the singular, as demonstrated in (1).

(1) nomba   akalulu   ka-shyala   no=kuipaya-po
    now   CL12-hare   CL12-remain   and=CL15.kill-LOC

    umwana   umo
    CL1.child   CL1-one

    'So, Rabbit stayed home and killed one child there.'

On the other hand, an animate that doesn't belong to Class 1 can be referred to collectively with a Class 2 verbal prefix, especially when personified, as demonstrated in (2).

(2) nomba   ng'kalamu   wa-ya   ku-ipaya   inama   n=omukashi
    now   CL10.lion   CL5-go   CL15.kill   CL10.meat   with=CL1.wife

    va-ya   va-vili   avāna   va-shyala
    CL2-go   CL2-two   CL2.child   CL2-remain

    'So, Lion went hunting with [his] wife. Off they went! The children stayed at home.'

Finally, morphophonological processes play an active role in the retention of the preferred CV syllable structure found in many Bantu languages. The most salient processes attested by these data affect the vowels and nasals of class prefixes. When two of the same vowels meet at a syllabic boundary, compensatory vowel lengthening is often the result (3). When two different vowels meet at a syllabic boundary, often the first is reduced to a semi-vowel or a glide (4) or completely elided (5). Nasal assimilation is widespread but most productive, due to the underlying alveolar nasal, in

environments with the prefixes for Classes 9/10 (6).

(3) a. /aβa/ + /ana/ → [aβa:na] ('children')
    b. /ama/ + /ato/ → [ama:to] ('canoes')

(4) a. /umu/ + /ensi/ → [umwensi] ('moon')
    b. /ifi/ + /umbu/ → [ifjumbu] ('sweet potatoes')

(5) a. /itʃi/ + /auʃi/ → [icauʃi] ('Aushi language')
    b. /itʃi/ + /aka/ → [itʃaka] ('year')
    c. /na/ + /omukaʃi/ → [nomukaʃi] ('with [his] wife')

(6) a. /in/ + /panga/ → [impaŋga] ('forest')
    b. /n/ + /kalamu/ → [ŋkalamu] ('lion')
    c. /in/ + /bwa/ → [imbwa] ('dog')

4. CONCLUSION. In order to propose a preliminary description of the nominal class system, this study has considered the previous ethnographic and linguistic works on the IcAushi language. Based on this analysis, IcAushi utilizes seventeen nominal classes, the prefixes of which almost always retain a vocalic augment and CV prefix. A tripartite distinction is made for locative constructions, found in Classes 16, 17, and 18. At least thirteen singular-plural pairings of these prefixes are attested, and Class 6 is used most productively to express plurality. Future fieldwork with modern-day speakers is necessary to refine and build upon this work, in order to understand the true ethnolinguistic vitality and the relationship of IcAushi to other languages within the larger M40 group. Inherent limitations in the corpus prevent any real understanding of the role of suprasegmentals in IcAushi, as this distinction is not present in Doke (1933); however, the nominal class system proposed here accounts for the data at hand and presents the first real treatment of the nominal classes in IcAushi.

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POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE VALUES OF REMINDERS IN FRENCH: TESTING THE ROLE OF CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

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Abstract: This article reports on a pilot study carried out concerning the influence of contextual factors on the interpretation of the French speech act REMINDING. Working within the framework of the Semantics of Argumentative Possibilities, participants were presented with a series of 12 situations hypothesized as activating either positive or negative stereotypes. The preliminary results suggest that the role of contextual factors is more clearly defined for close personal relationships than for distant relationships.

Key words: Speech Act Theory, Semantics of Argumentative Possibilities, Reminding
Languages: English, French

LANGUAGE ALLOWS FOR QUITE A BIT OF CREATIVITY in its use, particularly when it comes to subtly insinuating certain messages. A given utterance, such as "Don't forget the report is due on Tuesday" can be interpreted differently depending on the context. It could be understood as looking out for someone who may have forgotten the report; however, it could also be a semi-disguised order or means of criticism, especially if coming from a manager.

Studies within the framework of politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) have extensively looked at linguistic means to soften what is called a face threatening act, that is to say, a situation in which someone risks losing face. Their notion of face, derived from Goffman (1967), is taken either in terms of an interactant's own view of themselves or at a more public level. Many speech acts (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), *grosso modo*, acts which are carried out through words, fall easily into one of two categories: reassuring or threatening. Galatanu and Bellachhab (2011) describe these two categories as follows: the purpose (or one of the purposes) of a reassuring act, such as THANKING[1] and COMFORTING, is to make the addressee feel a subjectively positive feeling, and the purpose (or one of the purposes) of a threatening act, such as INSULTING and ORDERING, is to make the addressee feel a subjectively negative feeling. Other speech acts, such as REMINDING, are not so easy to place. On the one hand, a timely reminder can prevent unnecessary embarrassment and will generally be appreciated by the recipient, but, on the other hand, some reminders are more likely to be interpreted as criticism and spark conflict.

Previous work has identified contextual factors potentially playing a determinate role in the interpretation of this speech act (Doyle-Lerat 2014). This paper reports on a pilot study conceived to test hypotheses regarding the interaction between contextual factors and the activation of the different axiological values associated with the French speech act REMINDING (RAPPELER). This

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[1] Small capitals are used throughout this paper to refer to speech acts.

study is part of a larger project investigating the role of contextual as well as cultural factors in the interpretation of this speech act from a French-English contrastive perspective.

Following a brief overview of the theoretical framework adopted for this work, the Semantics of Argumentative Possibilities, previous work concerning the semantic representations of the speech act of REMINDING and the potential role of contextual factors is considered. After, the results of the pilot study carried out with French speakers from France are looked at and discussed, notably concerning the preliminary confirmation of some hypotheses as well as the difficulty of predicting the reassuring or threatening nature of reminders carried out by strangers. The paper finishes with a few concluding remarks.

1. BACKGROUND. Within the French tradition of argumentative theories of semantics (Anscombre and Ducrot 1983; Plantin 1996; Carel and Ducrot 1999; Anscombre 2001), language is considered as essentially argumentative. In this context, argumentation is not seen as arguing that something is right or wrong, nor as a necessarily conscious process. Rather, the semantic content of lexical units is conceived as orienting language users towards certain conclusions thus impacting the ensuing conversation. The Semantics of Argumentative Possibilities (SAP), developed by Olga Galatanu (1999, 2003, 2009a, 2012), explains the argumentative potential of words in terms of stereotypes: each lexical unit has a core meaning as well as a series of expected associations specific to a given language community. For example, when a speaker evokes *organic vegetables*, there is a specific meaning (cultivated without pesticides in an environmentally responsible manner) as well as expectations of high quality, good taste, expensiveness, *et cetera*. The notion of *fast food*, on the other hand, has very different expected associations depending on the population in question: it is unlikely that the average high school student or Michelin starred chef would associate the same values to fast food.

A key role is attributed to speakers' declarative knowledge within the SAP as a means to access speaker representation of language within a given speech community. The semantic representations of speech acts elaborated within this theoretical framework do not, by any means, purport to describe a process which actually takes place but rather seek to shed light on speakers' understanding of these acts.

The SAP proposes a four-tier framework to account for the argumentative value of a lexical unit consisting of 1) the core, 2) stereotypes, 3) argumentative possibilities and 4) argumentative deployments. For the purpose of this paper, only the first two levels of semantic representation will be briefly considered (see Galatanu 2009b for a detailed description of all four levels in English).

The *core*, as alluded to above, is the part of meaning that is consistent for speakers of a given language. Even though *fast food* may evoke different associations for different speakers, there is a part of the meaning which is the same for all English speakers (roughly 'food prepared quickly'). In the SAP, the core is often expressed using semantic primitives (Wierzbicka 1996) and in the case of speech acts, is expressed through modal sequences. **Figure 1** and **Figure 2** represent the core for the speech act REMINDING in English and in French[2]. On the left is the representation itself and on the right is a reading in plain language based on the example "Tao, don't forget to walk the dog". The following abbreviations are used: SP = speaking subject, D = addressee, P = propositional content of the speech act, DC and PT = abstract argumentative connectors,

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[2]These representations were developed using lexicographic resources as well as surveys of native speakers involving French speakers from France and English speakers from the UK, Canada and the USA. Further details can be found in Doyle-Lerat, 2014.

corresponding to *therefore* and *however* in English.

Figure 1. Representation of the English Speech Act of REMINDING

SP ‹want to say› to D	I want to say to Tao that
SP ‹believe D must think about P›	I believe Tao must think about walking the dog
ET	And that
SP ‹believe D thought about P before›	I believe Tao has thought about walking the dog before
PT	And that however
SP ‹believe D might not be thinking about P›	I believe Tao might not be thinking about walking the dog
DC	Therefore
SP ‹bring P to the attention of D›	I bring walking the dog to the attention of Tao
DC	Therefore
D ‹can/must think about P›	Tao can/must think about walking the dog

Figure 2. Representation of the French Speech Act RAPPELER

SP ‹vouloir dire› à D	Je veux dire à Tao que
SP ‹croire D devoir penser à P›	Je pense que Tao doit penser à promener le chien
ET	et que
SP ‹croire D avoir déjà pensé à P›	Je crois que Tao a déjà pensé à promener le chien
PT	et que pourtant
SP ‹croire possible D ne pas penser à P›	Je crois qu'il est possible que Tao ne pense pas à promener le chien
DC	donc
SP ‹évoquer P›	J'évoque la promenade du chien
DC	donc
D ‹pouvoir/devoir penser à P›	Tao peut/doit penser à promener le chien

On the surface, the French representation is seemingly identical to its English counterpart. However, there are some slight differences concerning the cultural values generally associated with this speech act. Despite both types of reminders existing in both languages, in English reminders are more readily associated with a personal commitment whereas in French they are linked to an obligation imposed by a third party.

As mentioned above, the second layer of representation in the SPA model, the *stereotypes*, account for these expected associations. Inspired by Putnam (1975), stereotypes are an open set of associations which are linked to an element of the core. They are "(…) relatively stable for a given linguistic community at a given period of its cultural evolution[3]" (Galatanu 2003: 218). Returning to the example of fast food, possible associations include *delicious*, *poor-quality*, *good value*, and *overpriced*, heavily dependent on the group of speakers. These stereotypes are what make the following utterances seem either natural or odd:

1)   a. Fast food sounds good, I don't have a lot of cash.
     b. We had fast food for lunch, no wonder I feel sick.

In (1a), the stereotype *fast food therefore good value* has been activated, rendering fast food and acceptable option for someone who is strapped for cash. In (1b) on the other hand, the stereotype *fast food therefore poor-quality* makes the link between fast food and feeling unwell.

Previous work has determined a number of stereotypes native French and English speakers

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[3] "(…) *relativement stables dans une communauté linguistique donnée à un moment donné de son évolution culturelle.*" (Galatanu 2003: 218).

associate with reminding, namely the positive association *remind therefore to help*[4] as well as the negative associations *to remind therefore to criticize, to humiliate, to make someone feel guilty, to tease, to request and to give an order*. The goal of the present paper is to ascertain if there are specific configurations of contextual factors which are more conducive to the activation of positive or negative stereotypes.

As a starting point for determining the contextual factors at play in the context of the speech act REMINDING, Brown and Levinson's (1987) three-part model was used to explore the relationship between social dynamics and face threatening acts. The interplay between the three factors suggested by Brown and Levinson, 1) social distance between the interactants, 2) one of the interactants holding a position of authority and 3) imposition (to the extent of whether or not someone has genuinely forgotten something) offer insight into the role of social relationships in a situation of reminding. These considerations, as well as comments made by participants during a previous study, have highlighted the importance of the five factors outlined in **Figure** 3.

Figure 3. Five contextual factors relevant for REMINDING

> 1. Social relationships
> 2. Public/private issuing of the reminder
> 3. Frequency/repetition of the reminder
> 4. Reason to believe that something has genuinely been forgotten
> 5. Request to be reminded

Different combinations of these factors are more conducive to activating either a positive or negative stereotype. The situations suggested as being more likely to activate positive stereotypes are the following:

- If the addressee has, in fact, forgotten something
- A request to be reminded
- In a close social relationship
- An intimate private reminder
- A distant social relationship with authority
- A distant social relationship with no authority

As the main objective of REMINDING is to evoke something believed to have been forgotten, it is not surprising that if the addressee has in fact forgotten something, REMINDING will be accepted as a desire to help. Similarly, if someone has requested a reminder, this reminder is likely to be seen as helpful. Within the context of a close social relationship, a reminder is more likely to feel that the person reminding has their best interests at heart, thus putting by suspicions of criticism. Whereas a public reminder puts the addressee on the spot as they risk losing face in front of an audience, a private reminder takes away this level of social unease, and although the risk of face loss is still present, it is at a smaller scale. Finally, in the case of a distant social relationship, provided there has not been a history of reminding, it is unlikely that the reminder will be seen as aggressive. It may be perceived as helpful in the best of cases and irrelevant in the worst.

In terms of reminders likely resulting in the activation of negative or threatening stereotypes, the following situations were identified:

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[4] English speakers also accepted *to remind therefore to comfort* and *to remind therefore to encourage*.

- Relationship with power dynamics
- Repetition of reminding
- Public issuing of a reminder

Despite the fact that in relationships with power dynamics, such as manager/team member or parent/child relationships, reminders issued by the superiors are generally considered acceptable, they are also less likely to be perceived as a gesture of kindness but rather as a means to dictate behaviour. The speech act of REMINDING may be seen as a means to indirectly ask someone to do something or as a lack of trust in the person and their ability to respect their commitments. If there is repetition of reminding, a reminder can be interpreted as criticism, especially since there is less reason to believe that the addressee has actually forgotten. Finally, as previously mentioned, a reminder in front of a group of people can activate negative stereotypes as it publicly underlines a weakness.

2. METHODOLOGY. A pilot study was designed to test these hypotheses and to determine which family of stereotypes (positive or negative, reassuring or threatening) were activated in various situations. The first step was to test these configurations with native French speakers. The second step will be to test them with native English speakers.

For this initial phase, there were a total of 13 participants (12 male and one female). All participants were native French speakers from France and IT professionals between 25 and 31 years of age. The participants were given hard copies of the questions and directed to answer spontaneously and independently.

Twelve situations were created based on combinations of the contextual factors outlined above. There were six configurations which were hypothesized as positive (situations 1, 3, 5, 6, 8 and 10) and six hypothesized as negative (situations 2, 4, 7, 9, 11 and 12). **Table 1** summarizes the situations considered.

Table 1. Situations considered

SITUATION	RELATIONSHIP WITH PERSON REMINDING	CONTENT OF THE REMINDER	CONTEXTUAL FACTORS	HYPOTHESIS
1.	Partner	A medical appointment	High probability the addressee had forgotten	Positive
2.	Manager at work	Deadline of a report	Clear the addressee had not forgotten	Negative
3.	Customs agent at the airport	Open passport to the photo page.	No reason to suspect the addressee had forgotten	Positive
4.	Brother	Mother's birthday	Clear the addressee had not forgotten	Negative
5.	Next-door neighbour	Change in garbage day.	Reason to suspect the addressee had forgotten, even though not the case	Positive
6.	Co-worker	Name of a work contact	High probability that the addressee had forgotten, a discreet reminder	Positive
7.	Fellow bus rider	Change in location of the bus stop	Repetition of a reminder	Negative
8.	Partner	To pick up a child from swimming class	Reminder requested	Positive

9.	Co-worker	A meeting	Public reminder	Negative
10.	Friend	Dinner at a friend's home	Not likely the addressee had forgotten	Positive
11.	Partner	Parents coming for dinner	Repetition of a reminder (for the 5th time)	Negative
12.	City Hall Worker	To take a ticket from the machine.	A reminder had been given on a previous occasion, no clear signs the addressee had forgotten	Negative

For each situation, the participants were given contextual information followed by a reminder as in **Figure 4**, which is an English translation of Situation 8.

Figure 4. Sample situation

> Last week, because of a very busy day, you forgot to pick up your daughter from her swimming lesson. In order to prevent the same thing from happening again this week, you've asked your partner to phone you at the end of the day so you don't forget. Your phone rings and it's your partner who says: "Swimming"

After reading each situation, the participants were asked to answer two questions: one question regarding the perceived behaviour of the speaker and the second concerning how they would feel in this situation. The participants were asked to select an adjective among two series of adjectives for each question (comprised of three reassuring adjectives, one neutral adjective and three threatening adjectives) and had the possibility to suggest another adjective if they felt it would be more appropriate. **Figure 5** outlines these possibilities, with the original French adjectives between square brackets.

Figure 5. Questions asked concerning each situation

> 1) How would you describe the behaviour of this person?
> □ Considerate [*Attentionné(e)*]   □ Normal [*Normal*]
> □ Authoritarian [*Autoritaire*]   □ Hurtful [*Blessant*]
> □ Critical [*Critique*]   □ Informative [*Informatif*]
> □ Encouraging [*Encourageant*]   □ Other (please specify):
>
> 2) How would you feel in this situation?
> □ Annoyed [*Irrité(e)*]   □ Reassured [*Rassuré(e)*]
> □ Uncomfortable/embarrassed [*Gêné(e)*]   □ Relieved [*Soulagé(e)*]
> □ Indifferent [*Indiffèrent(e)*]   □ Threatened [*Menacé(e)*]
> □ Supported [*Soutenu(e)*]   □ Other (please specify):

3. RESULTS. Remaining in line with Galatanu and Bellachhab (2011), a situation was classified as reassuring if the majority of the responses to both questions were positive, thus indicating that the person reminding had induced a subjectively positive state. Conversely, a situation was considered threatening if the majority of the responses to both questions were negative. For the results below, the breakdown of answers is given per question as well as for both questions combined. For question 1, the following adjectives were considered positive: *considerate*, *encouraging*, and *informative*; the following negative: *authoritarian, critical* and *hurtful*; and the following neutral: *normal*. Likewise, for question 2, the positive adjectives were: *supported*, *reassured* and *relieved*; the negative adjectives were *annoyed*, *uncomfortable/embarrassed,* and *threatened*; and the

neutral descriptor was *indifferent*. In the event that participants suggested different adjectives, these are indicated and classified as positive, negative or neutral.

3.1. SITUATIONS HYPOTHESIZED AS POSITIVE. **Tables 2**, **3**, and **4** show the results for the situations hypothesized as positive. For each situation the answers are given as a percentage and between brackets the results are given in terms of the number of participants is specified.

Table 2. Breakdown of answers to question 1

Situation	1	3	5	6[5]	8	10
Percentage (number) of positive adjectives	75% (9)	91.7% (11)	41.7% (5)	81.8% (9)	58.3% (7)	75% (9)
Percentage (number) of neutral adjectives	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)	25% (3)	0% (0)	16.7% (2)	25% (3)
Percentage (number) of negative adjectives	8.3% (1)	0% (0)	33.3% (4)	18.2% (2)	25% (3)	0% (0)

Table 3. Breakdown of answers to question 2

Situation	1	3	5	6	8	10
Percentage (number) of positive adjectives	50% (6)	8.3% (1)	16.7% (2)	54.5% (6)	66.7% (8)	66.7% (8)
Percentage (number) of neutral adjectives	16.7% (2)	83.3% (10)	50% (6)	0% (0)	8.3% (1)	33.3% (4)
Percentage (number) of negative adjectives	33.3% (4)	8.3% (1)	33.3% (4)	45.5% (5)	25% (3)	0% (0)

Table 4. Breakdown of answers to questions 1 and 2 combined

Situation	1	3	5	6	8	10
Percentage (number) of positive adjectives	62.5% (15)	50% (12)	29.2% (7)	68.2% (15)	62.5% (15)	70.8% (17)
Percentage (number) of neutral adjectives	16.7% (4)	45.8% (11)	37.5% (9)	0% (0)	12.5% (3)	29.2% (7)
Percentage (number) of negative adjectives	20.8% (5)	4.2% (1)	33.3% (8)	31.8% (7)	25% (6)	0% (0)

Figure 6 outlines the adjectives suggested by the participants and their classification as positive, negative or neutral.

Figure 6. Adjectives suggested by participants

Situation 1
- Question 1: Positive adjective: concerned (*inquiet*), negative adjective: insinuating (*insinuant*)

Situation 3
- Question 2: Positive adjective: informed (*informé*)

Situation 5
- Question 1: Negative adjectives: annoying (*agaçant*), strange (*curieux*) and uncertain (*incertain*)
- Question 2: Positive adjective: thankful (*reconaissant*), negative adjective: solicited (*sollicité*)

Situation 10
- Question 1: Positive adjective: enthusiastic (*enthousiament*)
- Question 2: Positive adjective: happy (*content*)

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[5] One participant did not provide answers for situation 6.

Four of the situations which had been hypothesized as being positive were viewed by a majority of the participants as positive: situations 1, 6, 8 and 10, in line with the hypothesis concerning distant relationships. The reminder in situation 3 was considered more irrelevant than anything. The participants indicated that this person was just doing their job[6]. Situation 5, on the other hand, was very split: some participants indicated they would feel looked out for, others that such a reminder was irrelevant and yet others that the neighbour was interfering needlessly.

3.2. SITUATIONS HYPOTHESIZED AS NEGATIVE. **Tables 5**, **6**, and **7** outline the results for the six situations hypothesized as negative.

Table 5. Breakdown of answers to question 1

Situation	2	4	7	9	11	12
Percentage (number) of positive adjectives	25% (3)	100% (12)	75% (9)	8.3% (1)	16.7% (2)	66.7% (8)
Percentage (number) of neutral adjectives	25% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	8.3% (1)	16.7% (2)	0% (0)
Percentage (number) of negative adjectives	50% (6)	0% (0)	25% (3)	83.3% (10)	66.7% (8)	33.3% (4)

Table 6. Breakdown of answers to question 2

Situation	2	4	7	9	11	12
Percentage (number) of positive adjectives	8.3% (1)	66.7% (8)	33.3% (4)	8.3% (1)	8.3% (1)	0% (0)
Percentage (number) of neutral adjectives	25% (3)	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)	0% (0)	33.3% (4)	50% (6)
Percentage (number) of negative adjectives	66.7% (8)	16.7% (2)	58.3% (7)	91.7% (11)	58.3% (7)	50% (6)

Table 7. Breakdown of answers to question 1 and 2 combined.

Situation	2	4	7	9	11	12
Percentage (number) of positive adjectives	16.7% (4)	83.3% (20)	54.2% (13)	8.3% (2)	12.5% (3)	33.3% (8)
Percentage (number) of neutral adjectives	25% (6)	8.3% (2)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (1)	25% (6)	25% (6)
Percentage (number) of negative adjectives	58.3% (14)	8.3% (2)	41.7% (10)	91.7% (22)	62.5% (15)	41.7% (10)

The adjectives suggested by the participants are listed in **Figure 6** and **Figure 7**, along with their classification as positive or negative.

Figure 7. Adjectives suggested by participants

Situation 2
- Question 1: Negative adjective: insulting/degrading (*insultant/dégradant*)
- Question 2: Negative adjective: under pressure (*sous pression*)

Situation 4
- Question 2: Positive adjectives: jovial (*jovial*), proud (*fier*)

Situation 7
- Question 1: Negative adjectives: annoying (*agaçant*), annoying (*casse-pied*)
- Question 2: Negative adjective: annoyed (*agacé*)

Situation 9
- Question 1: Negative adjective: pretentious (*prétentieux*)
- Question 2: Negative adjective: very irritated (*très enervé*)

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[6] One of the participants stated: « Il fait son travail » (*He is doing his job*).

Three of the situations hypothesized as threatening, situations 2, 9 and 11 were interpreted as threatening by a majority of the participants. These situations included reminders judged unnecessary, public reminders in the workplace, repetition of reminding.

Interestingly enough, situation 4 which had been hypothesized as being negative was interpreted as positive. Participants felt that the brother was acting in good faith and had their best interests at heart. The participants' interpretations of Situations 7 and 12, on the other hand, were quite divided between the three types of adjectives.

4. DISCUSSION. The purpose of this study was to test the predictability of the activation of a positive or negative stereotype linked to REMINDING based on contextual factors. As this is just a pilot study, no definitive conclusions can be drawn; however, it does seem that personal relationships, regardless of the presence of a hierarchical dimension, lead to easier predictability of the type of stereotypes that will be activated.

The factor seeming to have the strongest positive influence is the remindee having sincerely forgotten something which could potentially lead to embarrassment, as wanting to save someone from embarrassment is seen as a positive thing. In both situations 1 and 6, the person reminding was seen as having positive intentions (75% and 81.1% respectively) and the remindee felt positive (50% and 54%). Some of the participants indicated they would be angry at themselves for having forgotten, thus explaining their negative answers to the second question. Although an unnecessary reminder may be considered a negative thing, in close relationships, such as a sibling or a friend, the thoughtfulness of the reminder seems to outweigh the implicit suggestion of having forgotten. In situations 4 and 10, the person reminding was seen as having positive intentions (100% in the first case and 75% in the second). In the case of a request to be reminded, perhaps the nature of the personal relationship plays a role. In situation 8, the reminder was seen as positive (62.5%), but there is possibly an element of repetition (of reminders in general) that takes place in this sort of relationship that could influence the interpretation.

Repetition in combination with certain relationships seems to have a strong negative influence. In this case, reminders coming from a manager (situation number 2) or from a spouse (situation 11), are perceived quite negatively (58.3% and 62.5% respectively).

The public versus private context plays a role: a co-worker issuing a reminder publicly (situation 9) was interpreted as overwhelmingly negative (91.7%) whereas the discretion of the co-worker in situation 4 was valued.

In more distant relationships, the interpretations seem to be more diverse and less predictable. Three of the situations (3, 7 and 12) are similar in so far as the person issuing the reminder was judged in a positive light (91.7, 75% and 66.7% respectively). For situation 3, the majority of the participants felt indifferent following this reminder (83.3%), perhaps indicating that it is perceived as irrelevant. In situation 12, the participants felt split between a subjectively negative interpretation and an indifferent interpretation. In situation 7, the participants either felt subjectively positive or negative, with fewer feeling indifferent. As for situation 5, the intentions of the neighbour issuing the reminder were not clear, and split among the three categories; however, a majority of the participants (50%) felt indifferent towards this reminder. It will be interesting to see if the general interpretation of these situations becomes clearer with a greater number of participants.

There are also a certain number of personal differences as well. In situation 2, the majority of the participants felt subjectively negative (66.7%) or indifferent (25%). One participant explained: "Unless I had proven my inability to deliver my work on time, I would prefer that my boss show

his trust in me and not remind me of my obligations. The tone used by the boss is very important in this situation[7]." In this same situation, there was one participant who considered the manager's behaviour considerate and felt supported.

In terms of hierarchical relationships, this study focused on reminders in the context which had been determined as being most appropriate for this speech act, from the person situated in the position of power towards the person below. It could be instructive to consider including a reminder in the other direction – from an employee to a manager, for example – to see how it is interpreted. In addition, a greater number of situations with slight variations could help in determining which contextual factors are stronger than others. This could be achieved through several versions of the survey.

It would also be instructive to consider the extent to which the linguistic realisation of REMINDING interacts with the contextual factors, such as the importance of the tone of voice underlined by one of the participants of the study. A deeper understanding of REMINDING could be gained from analysing how variation in the words used to remind can mitigate a negative (or positive) interpretation of this speech act.

5. CONCLUSION. As speech acts do not happen in isolation from a context, it is necessary to consider how these factors can influence the manner in which the addressee interprets the speech act. Reminding is particularly interesting as it can evoke both a very positive reaction, such as being looked out for, cared for, taken care of, as well as a negative reaction, such as feeling underestimated or mocked. Within the Semantics of Argumentative Possibilities model, these diverse reactions can be accounted for by the ideas of stereotypes: different stereotypes are activated in different situations. This study has helped to shed light on the role of contextual factors in activating both positive and negative stereotypes, particularly between speakers with close relationships.

The current study is limited to speakers from one linguistic community: native France French speakers from a limited age range, all working within the same field. Despite this relative homogeneity, there are some situations which were not clearly identified as positive or negative. Cross-linguistic communication, a reality of today's world, complicates matters further. What may be appropriate in one language community will not necessarily be seen under the same light in another. Many previous studies have considered cross-linguistic interpretation of linguistic realisations of various speech acts, for example: SUGGESTING (i.e., Martinez-Flor 2005; Jiang 2006), REFUSING (i.e., Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz 1990; Yamagashira 2001), REQUESTING and APOLOGIZING (i.e., Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989), and have generally concluded that different realisations are preferred by speakers of different languages. In addition to considering the differences in linguistic realization, it is important to consider potential differences in the way speakers of different languages represent these acts and to discern the reasons why a given instance of REMINDING is potentially reassuring or threatening. As there is the intention to carry out this study with native speakers of English, it will be interesting to see the differences cross-linguistically, especially since previous work has already indicated differences between French and English speaker representations of the speech act REMINDING.

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[7] "*À moins que j'ai démontré ma faculté à être en retard dans mes délivrables, je préférerai que mon chef fasse preuve de confiance à mon égard et ne me rappel pas mes obligations. Le ton employé par le chef est très important dans cette situation.*"

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CALL TO ACTION: CLAUSE AS REPRESENTATION IN TWO GOVERNORS' SPEECHES DURING SUPERSTORM SANDY

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Abstract: This paper presents a study of language in use during the natural catastrophe called Superstorm Sandy. The study focuses on clause as an expression of representational meaning (how the speakers use transitivity structures to express what the clause is about). Through a Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) analysis, the research examines verb choice, transitivity, and logical relations in select speeches of Governors Chris Christie and Andrew Cuomo regarding the storm in their communities. The purpose of this investigation is to contribute to the growing body of research on language in social life. The findings on the data, which comprised speeches by the governors before, during, and after Hurricane Sandy, were based on an analysis of the speeches on the clause level. Results from the interpretation of the data indicated that each governor employed unique verb choices and logical relations, thereby creating different meanings.

Key words: Language in politics, language and power, Systemic Functional Linguistics, representational meaning, logical relations.
Languages: English

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY are inseparably linked, and life's events play out both in words spoken and in actions taken by members of society. The relationship between words and actions continues to be a matter of keen interest for writers and politicians and a fertile ground of study for linguists (Lukin 2013; Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingstone 2007; Hasan 2009). The oft-quoted lines Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1839) wrote in his play *Richelieu; Or the Conspiracy: A Play in Five Acts:*

> True, This! —
> Beneath the rule of men entirely great
> The pen is mightier than the sword. Behold
> The arch-enchanters wand! — itself is nothing! —
> But taking sorcery from the master-hand
> To paralyse the Cæsars, and to strike
> The loud earth breathless! — Take away the sword —
> States can be saved without it!

Though Bulwer-Lytton wrote the words, the sentiment about the power of words predates him and lives on long after him. How effective a speaker or writer is may, in fact, have the power to change

hearts, minds, and courses of action. In times of societal crises, the communication between political leaders and their constituents is crucial in helping people negotiate the difficulties that they face.

Superstorm Sandy (CNN 2012) was a weather event of biblical proportions for the states of New York and New Jersey, where, though it had been downgraded to post-tropical cyclone status, the confluence of a full moon and three high tides caused it to become the most destructive storm in at least 200 years to hit the New York area, resulting in 53 deaths in New York State and 34 in New Jersey, primarily from drowning (Centers for Disease Control 2013), and billions of dollars in losses to homeowners, businesses, and government infrastructure. For many people, the storm literally brought the Atlantic Ocean across the Great South Bay and other inland waterways into their backyards. In order to assist their constituents, New Jersey Governor Chris Christie and New York Governor Andrew Cuomo conducted numerous press briefings that targeted civilian preparedness before and during the storm and that offered assistance in dealing with the consequences of the storm.

These press briefings present an excellent opportunity for the linguistic study of the governors' unrehearsed speech as such briefings are mostly unlike other types of political speeches, such as state of the state/union addresses, budget addresses, or other public addresses. Their content is hurriedly planned without ghostwriters, and some of the speech is adlibbed in response to rapidly shifting circumstances. The drama of these speeches is real, and the absence of lengthy deliberation provides a revealing perspective on the ways in which the speakers conveyed crucial facts and instructions to their constituents in this time of crisis. Similarly, in Labov and Waletzky (1967), participants were invited to talk about a frightening event with the prompt, "Were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed?" (5) with the intention of eliciting a speech sample with as little monitoring as possible.

The significance of studying the governors' uses of language goes beyond the actual crisis brought on by the storm. Both governors are seen as potential candidates for the US presidency, and Governor Christie, in particular, is at the time of this writing, a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. Therefore, their interactions with their constituents may have implications on the national and international stages and their public linguistic performance may have some far-reaching implications.

1. BACKGROUND. The theoretical foundation of this study has at its core the social and contextual orientation to language use (Labov 1966; Halliday 2009; Hasan 1996a, 1996b). Hasan writes that "language is a fearsome resource through which we not only do seemingly trivial things, e.g., greeting, gossiping or buying a loaf of bread, but through it we can have the power of doing enormously momentous things" (1996b: 34). Superstorm Sandy was a momentous event that called for effective and powerful communication between government leaders and their constituents in order to ensure the safety of the millions in the storm's path.

The speeches' context and texts are inherently connected to one another. Halliday (2009) argues that language can be studied through the context or the text: "Text and situation come into being together; so whatever kind of order we set up between them, it must be such that we can start from either end" (15). Hasan's notion is that it is not possible to separate language from life; that is, that there is a continuity from one to the other, and that, therefore, every morpheme plays a role in the construal of context (Cloran, Butt, and Williams 1996: 1). Lukin's study (2013) of news supports the connection between context and text in that linguistic choices by speakers or writers in the situation at hand produce an effect on listeners or readers that changes their ways of thinking and being about the situation and perhaps beyond it. Texts express ideology and convey

meaning that impacts thinking. The press briefings by Governors Christie and Cuomo share basically the same context, and their texts also share the same purpose, but they convey different meanings through their choices.

The current study builds upon our prior study (Nenchin & Feltman 2014) on the use of dialect and modality by key players during the societal crisis initiated by Superstorm Sandy. For that study, we analyzed the speeches of Governors Christie and Cuomo to answer two research questions: "Does dialect use by the two governors affect the way that they are perceived by listeners?" and "How do the governors' choices of mood and modality (a) differ from one another and (b) affect their meaning?" (np). Small focus groups naïve to the purpose of the study and uninformed about the identities of the speakers were chosen to listen to the speeches and answer attitudinal questions about them. The governors have distinct dialects and speaking styles that differ from one another and that are perceived differently. Governor Cuomo, a speaker of the New York City dialect, was viewed as more effective than Governor Christie, a speaker of the North Jersey dialect (spoken in northeastern New Jersey), on the one hand, but as uneducated on the other. While Cuomo's speech was more popular with the oldest respondents, the youngest respondents preferred Governor Christie's speech. This supports the findings of Labov (1966) regarding the New York City dialect, which continues to be stigmatized, especially for its non-rhotic pronunciation. Its use by politicians may affect the public's view of them, especially outside of their region and among younger constituents. With regard to the questions about modality, the governors used different strategies, with Cuomo choosing a wide range of modal operators from the low value *can* and *could* to *will* and *should*, which are of median value, and Christie utilizing only modal verbs of ability/potentiality *can*, *could*, and *be able to*, which are of low value, the effect of which is that Christie's speech is more deferent and polite, while Cuomo's is more forceful. How the public understands these differences is a subject for further study, as are other aspects of their texts including the current investigation into the semantic categories of the verbs that they use and the logical relations in the texts.

2. METHOD. The central questions that guided this research are "How do the governors' choices of verbs (process in the SFL paradigm) (a) differ from one another and (b) affect their meaning?" and "What logical relations (the degree of interdependency or taxis among clauses) do the governors use?" The data comprised speeches by the governors before and after Hurricane Sandy. As noted above, these texts were primarily spontaneous; the narratives served as responses to fluid events that presented a threat to life (cf. Labov & Waletzky, 1967). Excerpts from the speeches were similar in purpose and length (Christie's texts total 65 clauses, and Cuomo's 62), though Christie's texts have about one third more words than Cuomo's. Their purpose was to provide information (exchange of information) and instructions (exchange of goods and services) to the public.

The two research questions center around the ideational metafunction, one of three metafunctions in the SFL model of language, the others being the interpersonal (e.g., mood and modality) and textual (e.g., conjunction and reference).

2.1. ANALYSIS. The ideational metafunction (a combination of the experiential and logical metafunctions) was the focus of this study. The experiential represents language as experience and is realized in the transitivity within the clause. There are three functional constituents: Participant, Process, and Circumstance. The logical involves the relationships between clauses; an equal relationship comprises interdependency, and an unequal one dependency. The analysis was at the clause level. A sample SFL analysis is delicate and multilevel (see **Table 1**).

Table 1. Sample SFL analysis

Clause 15	It	is	stupid
Constituency	Noun group	Verb group	Noun group
Experiential	Carrier	Process: Relational Attributive	Attribute
Interpersonal	Subject	Finite: present + (polarity)	Complement
	MOOD		Residue
Textual	Theme	Rheme	
Logical (Taxis): independent, hypotactically enhanced by clause 14 (condition +)			

Verbal groups realize process, the "goings-on" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2013 --) or events that make up our experience and are the essential constituent of a clause.

The researcher coded the texts for types of verbs (Process) and taxis. She took steps to reduce unconscious coder bias by comparing the coding with an extant database of verbs and their semantic categories, such as Sysverb (Matthiessen n.d.), and by systematically checking the context of each verb in its clause and the text overall for metaphorical use, which could change the semantic category (e.g. Material Process: *Susan runs down the street/*Relational Process: *Main Street runs down from the top of the hill to the river*).

2.2. ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIENTIAL METAFUNCTION. In SFL, types of Process[1] reflect the semantic categories of the verbs, which Matthiessen (n.d.) has organized in *Sysverb* and which can be summarized as follows:

> *Doing* Verbs (verbs that express actions and happenings in the material world)
> - Material – typical action verbs, verbs that affect the material world (e.g., running, drawing, building)
> - Behavioral – verbs that express physiological or psychological behavior (e.g., yawn, sneeze, burp) and stand on the border between material and mental Process, blending them. Behavioral verbs "represent the outer manifestations of inner workings, the acting out of processes of consciousness (e.g. people are laughing) and physiological states (e.g. they were sleeping) (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 215).
>
> *Projecting* Verbs (verbs that express the inner world of cognition, perception, emotion or desire and that can project this inner world through thought or speech)
> - Mental – verbs of thinking, feeling, wanting and perceiving (internal activities) (e.g., ponder, love, desire, see)
> - Verbal – verbs of saying (e.g., tell, mention, ask, reply)
>
> *Being* Verbs (verbs that express existence or provide a way to give attributes or identity to things)
> - Relational – verbs of being and having (e.g., be, have, represent, own)
> - Existential – verbs that express existence (e.g., there is/there are, exist)

The Process (the process of meaning) unfolds through time (as represented by tense) and involves participants; there may also be circumstances associated with the process (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 220). Halliday and Matthiessen note that "the concepts of process, participant and circumstance are semantic categories that explain in the most general way how phenomena of our

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[1] Process is capitalized in SFL terminology, as are the Participants and Circumstances.

experience of the world are construed as linguistic structures" (2014: 224). These categories are to be seen as related to one another on a continuum and in a circular, not linear, fashion (cf. Figure 5.3 *The Grammar of Experience: Types of Processes in English*, Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 216) and to likely vary across languages (e.g. the English existential process *there is/there are* may be a locative relational process in other languages (in Russian *Byla starushka v lyecu/Was an old lady in the forest*). The boundaries between these categories are fuzzy (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 216). This is further supported by evidence gleaned from Teruya and Matthiessen's (2015) more recent research into the language resources of languages other than English.

2.3. ANALYSIS OF THE LOGICAL METAFUNCTION. Logical relations involve "complex units, e.g. the clause complex . . . and group and phrase complexes" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 362). In this analysis, the focus is on the taxis or "degree of interdependency" (438) between clauses. Two independent clauses are of equal status (parataxis), and a combination of an independent and dependent clauses realize unequal relations or hypotaxis.

The governors' texts were divided into clauses, which were marked as dependent or independent. A count of the type of clauses provided a profile of the taxis of the texts. According to Halliday and Matthiessen, the distinction between parataxis and hypotaxis has evolved in languages as a powerful grammatical strategy for guiding the rhetorical development of text" (2014: 441). Therefore, an analysis of the profile offered a portrait of the rhetorical strategies of each of the governors.

3. RESULTS. The texts were analyzed (a) for the governors' choices of verbs (semantic categories or process in the SFL paradigm) to evaluate how their choices differ from one another and affect their meaning and (b) for the logical relations (the degree of interdependency or taxis among clauses) the governors employ.

3.1. IDEATIONAL MEANING. The results of the analysis of the ideational metafunction provide a profile of the Process types in the governors' speeches (see **Table 2**).

Table 2. Overview of process types in the texts

Christie			Cuomo		
Process Type	**Text 1**	**Text 2**	**Process Type**	**Text 1**	**Text 2**
Material	10	10	Material	9	16
Behavioral	1	0	Behavioral	1	0
Mental	13	1	Mental	2	5
Verbal	3	2	Verbal	1	3
Relational	16	6	Relational	8	11
Existential	0	0	Existential	1	1

In Christie's first text, relational process is dominant, followed by mental, whereas in his second text, material process dominates, followed by relational. In both of Cuomo's texts, material Process

is dominant followed by relational.

Material Process represents the typical action, and in three of the four texts, it is the leading Process. Lexical sets such as *going* (*go, get out, leave, take the bus, walk*) and the antonymous set *staying* (*stay*) are the most typical examples of material Process in the texts:

> *<u>Get out</u>,*
> *and <u>go </u>to higher, safer ground.* (Christie & Cuomo)
> *These folks <u>need to get out </u>of the barrier islands.* (Christie)
> *Take the bus.* (Cuomo)

Since the context of the speeches was the response to Superstorm Sandy calling for action, material Process would be the most expected type.

Mental Process encodes the inner world of the speaker or writer. In the texts, the use of mental Process by the two governors differs sharply (see **Table 3**).

Table 3. Comparison of mental process subtypes

Mental Process Subtypes	Governor Christie		Governor Cuomo	
	Text 1	Text 2	Text 1	Text 2
cognition	10	0	0	3
emotion	0	0	0	1
inclination	1	1	1	0
perception	1	0	0	1

Christie uses over three times more verbs of thinking (cognition) Cuomo. In some cases, Christie uses them to soften his suggestions or to add irony:

> *The margin for error for me being wrong and you going and staying at a friend's house for two days is significantly better than winding up with a severe injury or death for yourself or for your family, **<u>I think.</u>*** (Christie)

Relational Process is usually realized in the verb *to be* but may be realized by other linking verbs such as *remain*, *get*, *have*, and *own*. There are four subtypes: attributive, identifying, possessive, and circumstantial (separately indicated here but also considered a special type of attributive Process, in which the attribute is expressed by a prepositional phrase) (as exemplified in **Table 4**).

Table 4. Comparison of subtypes of relational clauses

Subtype	Christie		Cuomo	
	Text 1	Text 2	Text 1	Text 2
Relational Attributive "It is stupid."	11	2	4	1
Relational Identifying "This is the biggest storm.	1	2	1	6
Relational Possessive "We have huge challenges."	2	2	2	3
Relational Circumstantial "If you are not in one of the mandatory evacuation areas…"	2	0	2	0

Christie uses relational-attributive Process to describe the situation in general.

> *Staying on the barrier islands for 36 hours of hurricane-force winds of 75 mph or more, sustained, not gusting, is stupid.*
> *He was wrong the last time.*

Clauses expressing this Process build his description of the dangerous nature of the storm. In contrast, Cuomo makes more use of relational identifying process. Clauses with this Process are definite:

> *That's what's always made us special.*
> *That's what makes the community of NY special.*
> *And this is the time to do it.*
> *This is the time to take that little extra step.*

He uses them effectively to emphasize his points about the nature of the New York community and the need for community response to these extreme circumstances.

Also of concern in the experiential metafunction is the doer of the Process. In this regard, the governors differ significantly in their choices of personal pronouns.

Table 5. Pronoun choice

Pronoun	Governor Christie		Governor Cuomo	
	Text 1	**Text 2**	**Text 1**	**Text 2**
I	15	14	1	2
We	2	14	2	2
You	8	8	6	10
He/she/it	3 (it) 1 (he)	0	0	0
They	1	0	3	3

Governor Christie primarily uses first person pronouns *I* and *we*. In Text 1 (pre-storm), he uses *I* to relate what he has said and done thus far about storm preparations and to hedge (*I think, I guess*); he employs *we* to refer to the NJ government and the community. In Text 2 (post-storm), he uses *I* to talk about what he needs to do to help the people (*as I'm trying to get all these things done*) and expresses self-deprecation in some instances (*I'm asking for patience from New Jerseyans this week, because I don't have much, and I need patience from all of you*). He employs *we* to express solidarity with his constituents in their joint efforts to overcome the damage caused by the storm. His use of *you* in the second text overall is not in the role of doer in the ranked clauses. In contrast, Governor Cuomo mostly uses second and third person pronouns in the doer roles in both texts. Two thirds of the uses of *you* are in the doer role (*If you call that number tomorrow, you will get an expert on the phone who can talk to you. You can explain your situation.*) In these instances, he is outlining for his constituents what they can do. Similarly, he uses *they* as the doers when talking about what people should do in Texts 1 and 2: (*Citizens have a responsibility too. They need to be smart. They need to use common sense. They do not need to be on the road*) and when he refers to government workers engaged in the relief effort (*And they will give you advice*) and to New Yorkers (*They haven't had water*).

3.2. LOGICAL RELATIONS. The results of the analysis of the logical metafunction offer an overview of the logico-semantic relations at the clause level in the governors' speeches (see **Table 6**).

Table 6. Taxis

Type of Clause	Christie (65 clauses)		Cuomo (62 clauses)	
	Text 1	Text 2	Text 1	Text 2
independent clauses	38	14	21	35
dependent clauses	4 (if)	5 (as/because)	0	3 (if)
nonfinite clauses	1	3	1	2

In both sets of texts, the governors primarily employ independent clauses. Because of the high use of independent clauses, the main logical relation is expansion through addition (glossed as the *and* relationship). In the pre-storm text, Governor Christie uses enhancement (condition-*if*) with binding (dependency) in addition to parataxis:

> *If something looks like it's stupid to do, it is stupid*. (Christie)

In contrast, Governor Cuomo's first text there are only paratactic relations. In the post-storm text, Governor Christie uses enhancement (comparison-*as*/cause-*because*) with binding:

> *. . . as I said yesterday*
> I'm asking for patience from New Jerseyans this week, because I don't have much.

In his second text, Governor Cuomo uses enhancement (condition-*if*) with binding:

If you know there's a person down the hall, a senior citizen down the hall. . .

Though paratactic relations dominate the texts, these few clause complexes with clauses of unequal status (primarily expressing condition) provide some variety.
Each governor employs nonfinite clauses in almost equal measure. In Text 1, Governor Christie uses one to create irony about himself (*given my typical subtlety and understatement*), making fun of his reputation for straightforwardness, which is sometimes perceived as rudeness, and in Text 2 he adds infinitive verbal groups (*to have patience, to get things done for all of you*). Governor Cuomo also uses infinitive verbal groups (*to do it, to do that*).

4. DISCUSSION. Two questions about the ideational metafunction (the experiential and logical metafunctions) guided this research into the governors' speeches. The analysis of the experiential metafunction in the text provided an answer to the two-part question "How do the governors' choices of verbs (process in the SFL paradigm) (a) differ from one another and (b) affect their meaning?" The choice of verbs, organized in their semantic categories (material, behavioral, mental, relational, and existential), is quite distinct for each governor. The dominant Process type overall is material, which is appropriate to the situation, that is, the actions in the material world that need to be taken by the governors and the public to survive the storm. The intent of both governors' speeches was to call their constituents to life-saving actions. Governor Christie takes a somewhat different approach in his pre-storm text. Rather than having verbs expressing material

Process as the dominant choice, he uses relational (especially relational attributive) Process to underscore the attributes of the challenges before them, and he employs mental Process to soften his instructions and to express irony.

Additionally, the governors make quite different pronoun choices for the role of the doer of the Process. Governor Christie chooses to use the first person singular and plural more than the other pronouns; his use of *I* focuses attention on what he has done or should do, while his use of *we* has the effect of uniting him and his constituents in the face of the storm and its effects. Governor Cuomo rarely uses the first person; instead, he uses the second and third person, which has the effect of putting distance between him and his constituents, and is typically an expression of power.

The answer to the second question "What logical relations (the degree of interdependency or taxis among clauses) do the governors use?" is that they use mostly similar logical relations; parataxis is the dominant choice. The effect of linking independent clauses is equality, and the contribution of the equality to the overall meanings of the text is that the messages of the clauses are of equal weight and importance. This weighting is an essential linguistic choice for the speakers, whose task it is to help their constituents survive the many aspects of the perilous crisis brought on by Superstorm Sandy. Where they do use hypotaxis, the main relation is condition, the *if* relationship, which heightens the sense of action and consequence.

5. CONCLUSION. The governors' calls to action are quite different from each other with regard to the ideational metafunction. The governors employ distinct communicative strategies respectively, through which they package the experiences that they wish to convey. Though the effects of their words is not entirely knowable, both Governor Christie and Governor Cuomo provided key leadership during Superstorm Sandy, and their unrehearsed speeches in response to the ever-changing and life-threatening events played a crucial role in the public consciousness.

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ATTITUDES, POLICY, AND EDUCATION: SOCIAL DYNAMICS AFFECTING LITERACY PROGRAMS IN ENDANGERED LANGUAGE CONTEXTS

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Abstract: Literacy development often forms part of language revitalization efforts as a means to preserve endangered languages. However, a program's effectiveness is regularly determined by social factors. Drawing from a range of case studies and existing literature, this paper considers five prominent factors: 1) community attitudes; 2) government policies and concomitant financial or political issues; 3) training and organization among educators; 4) the attitude of educators; and 5) how an orthography is received.

Five important findings emerge. First, community attitudes significantly affect program effectiveness, and community support of the maintenance and the written development of the language is critical. Second, even if government policies support local language literacy, financial or political issues may arise. Third, while educators' relative lack of training and commitment often adversely affects literacy efforts, various solutions are available. Fourth, while educators' attitudes toward the program and materials can affect program plans, dialogue may prove beneficial. Finally, decisions regarding orthography alone often determine program outcomes.

Keywords: literacy, endangered languages, language development, orthography
Languages: Bagri, Forest Nenets, Koho, Lisu, Mayangna, Nahuatl, Navajo, Quechua, Rotuman, Tarahumara, Tlingit, Yupik

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LITERACY in an endangered language presents the challenge of teaching mother-tongue speakers how to read their language while ensuring that the language is successfully passed to following generations. Attendant to this is a wide range of factors that can determine the ultimate success or failure of literacy programs. The purpose of this paper is to discuss several factors that play a major role in literacy programs by reviewing existing literature and analyzing case studies of literacy work within specific endangered languages. Specifically, the local community and its attitudes, political and financial issues, a lack of training among educators,

attitudes of educators, and choices over and attitudes toward orthographies are in focus.

This paper consists of six major sections. The first five sections are devoted to each major area of factors that emerge from the literature and case studies: Section 1 discusses the role of the local community, section 2 politics and finance, section 3 issues of training, stability, and organization among educators, section 4 attitudes of teachers, and section 5 issues surrounding choice of orthography. Section 6 provides a conclusion.

1. ROLE OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY. Success in literacy programs relies significantly on the local community and its willingness to support the maintenance and written development of the language, regardless of what is happening in the education system. Community attitudes generally play a vital role in literacy or revitalization projects in endangered languages. These attitudes can be divided into three categories: attitudes 1) toward the spoken vernacular, 2) toward a written version of the vernacular, and 3) about which language to use in education.

Several commentators emphasize the need for the community to support the spoken vernacular. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) assert that "…it is critical to keep in mind that literacy, whether this be literacy in the local language or the language of wider communication, cannot be implemented without support from the local community" (103). Without such support, a literacy-based revitalization program will likely not reach its goals.

A good illustration is the situation of the Andamanese of India. Annamalai and Gnanasundaram (2001:320) point out that since "…the bilingual education model used is not geared to mother tongue maintenance," "[the] support for maintenance must come from outside the school" (320). As a result, it appears that attitudes toward preserving the vernacular equally affect language maintenance and literacy, and a potential program will need to keep this in mind. In regard to this issue of community interest, Mithun (1998) argues that parental attitudes contributing to language shift are the result of their desire to see their children succeed.

> "In many communities not all parents are convinced that retention of the traditional language is best for their children…Perhaps they are simply considering the economic fate of their children in a world that requires competence in one or even two major languages as a prerequisite for employment." (185)

Thus, economic advancement pressures appear to be one of the most prominent factors leading to language loss, leading to possible parental disinterest in any revitalization work. This desire of parents for their children's success may thus be a major obstacle to effective vernacular literacy, since they will be more interested in their children receiving education in a language of wider communication.

In his comparative case study of the Navajo[1] and Taiwanese aboriginals, Bawan (2000:116) describes exactly this kind of situation:

> "[There] are still some parents who do not recognize the importance of speaking [their] native language because they think it is not useful in mainstream society. They do not teach their children the mother tongues because they think it is not good for their children."

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[1] While Navajo is well-known to have a large number of speakers at present, due to a number of important factors commentators generally regard it as endangered, and it is considered as such for purposes of this article. Please see Lee and McLaughlin (2001) for a discussion.

Concern for children's success is thus a major factor in language shift and may have an impact on the potential effectiveness of a literacy program.

Another issue related to attitudes involving the spoken vernacular is how the language is perceived by the community. Among the Rotumans of Fiji, for example, their native language is in a diglossia relationship with English, in which the former is the spoken language and the latter the written, in spite of nearly a century of literacy education in both (Vamarasi, 2000:120-1). Vamarasi (2000) points out how this issue contributes to a lack of Rotuman literature:

> "[As] long as this attitude remains, as long as there is what is regarded as a balance between these two linguistic systems, Rotuman is not going to be viewed as a language of literature…consequently, vernacular literature will not be produced from within the culture" (121).

Thus, community attitudes concerning which language is associated with writing even in the presence of literacy education in the vernacular directly impact the usefulness of a long-term program.

Attitudes toward a written version of the vernacular can also be an issue for literacy. Mithun (1998:185) points out that "some community members feel that 'reducing the language to writing' would do violence to it, destroying its integrity and strength. There are fears that once it is written, this most intimate cultural inheritance will no longer be uniquely theirs…." Thus, the desire to preserve the endangered language may result in community opposition to literacy, since they desire the emotional inclusiveness and in-group identity that their language brings to remain untouched, and the idea of literacy presents a threat.

The choice of language for education produces several possible attitudes within the community, ranging from support for the vernacular to outright disdain. In the case of the Tarahumara, the vernacular in the classroom is used merely as a bridge to the national language (Paciotto 2000:109). Paciotto (2000) summarizes the community's position as that "…the majority of the parents conceived of bilingual education in terms of the oral use of Spanish and Tarahumara in class for an easier instructional strategy geared toward the teaching of Spanish" (106). Some parents were more supportive of education in Tarahumara in its own right either because they themselves were native Spanish-speakers and their children needed to learn the local vernacular (106) or language shift into Spanish was happening at a more accelerated pace in those communities (110).

Bagri-speakers of Rajasthan state, India, on the other hand, are unsupportive of the use of their language in schools. Gusain (2000) states that "education in Bagri is not encouraged by the parents because it is not associated with the 'mainstream' culture that is represented by upper class elite" and that they "[fear] that the mother tongue education will make the student jobless" (141), consistent with the observation of Mithun (1998) regarding language shift and economic concerns discussed above. Opposition to the language's appearance in the classroom for economic reasons can have clear negative ramifications for potential literacy work.

Altogether, the local community can have a number of attitudes toward the vernacular language, in both spoken and written form, as well as the form used in education and active literacy. Ultimately, the fate of a successful literacy program, in addition to the vitality of the language, in the long run relies significantly on the attitude of the local community and its willingness to support the maintenance and written development of the language, especially when the education system does not.

2. POLITICS AND FINANCE. Government entities have a profound influence on languages and literacy projects. Some programs enjoy full support and promotion in the education system, such as in Mexico with its indigenous languages (Paciotto 2000:103, 110). Others have limited, if not nominal, government support, as in the case of the Navajo or many indigenous languages of Africa (Adegbija 2001:303). There could even be outright opposition, as with the United States government toward Native American languages in the 19th century (Reyhner 1993:passim).

Navajo provides a good example of an endangered language with basic government support, but where actual government decisions have undermined programs. Bawan (2000:116) explains that "[inconsistent] funding caused several great projects and/or programs to be terminated and also negatively affected program development." In addition, citing Lee (1997:passim), Lee and McLaughlin (2001:34) point out that the need for funding from state governments and the need for local accreditation led to the curtailment of a Navajo bilingual program, in spite of federal government support. In this case, the tension between government intentions for program development and budget constraints can ultimately cause disruptions and ineffective programs, hurting the cause for literacy in these communities.

As for the Tarahumara of Mexico, national politics have resulted in a situation in which, thanks to the teachers' union, "many of the teachers recruited were monolingual Spanish-speaking mestizos, as well as ethnic Tarahumara teachers who did not speak their indigenous language well enough to be able to implement the bilingual program" (Paciotto 2000:110). Obviously, this has contributed negatively to vernacular literacy and education in spite of explicit government support. Thus, internal politics at the national level can have a major effect on the effectiveness of a vernacular literacy program.

Even if there is general support for language development, financial and political realities may interfere. To ensure the success of a revitalization program that includes the local public education system for literacy purposes, financial and political realities will have to be addressed.

3. TRAINING, STABILITY, AND ORGANIZATION AMONG EDUCATORS. Teacher training, availability, and commitment figure strongly into the planned effectiveness of a revitalization program. Insufficient training, or training specifically in some areas but not others, can have a detrimental effect on a language education program. In the case of programs in southeast Alaska, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:86) point out:

> "[Many teachers] become enthusiastic about literacy after participating in teacher-training workshops and are eager to teach it, but forget that while they already know the language, their students do not. They tend to substitute literacy for building a base in oral fluency."

Here is a case where literacy had taken the place of actually transmitting the language to the next generation, resulting in students learning to read a language foreign to them because the teachers were motivated to teach literacy alone. The two authors (1998:86) point out another teacher-related problem among the Tlingit of Alaska: "[it] is not uncommon to see inexperienced teachers using spellings from two or three different writing systems without being aware of the discrepancies." Thus, teachers were teaching primarily a form of literacy that was effectively useless since students could not readily speak the language, let alone read it, and what the students actually were learning was something problematically inconsistent.

The teachers clearly received incomplete training. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:90) assert that "[it] is understandable that beginning teachers with limited training may feel insecure with literacy, but the problem is that rather than use genuinely oral methods of instruction, they

almost always end up spelling." Since the teachers were partially trained to teach literacy but not other aspects of language education, they resorted to using what training they had received, which ultimately was of little use to the project, since the students were not actually learning the language.

Teacher shortages are another common problem. Bawan (2000:116) finds in his study of the Navajo and Taiwanese aboriginal programs that "…insufficient teachers is another problem in these programs. This problem can make the students lack interest in learning because of changing teachers, [inconsistent] teaching methods and content." Here, the shortage of teachers results in a lack of motivation among students and a lack of a well-organized plan for education. As a result, finding ways to ensure that teachers stay committed to the programs and training them under a standardized approach is an important component to a literacy project in endangered language communities.

Another example of this is the education program among the St. Lawrence Yupik of Alaska. In regard to language revitalization work within this community, Reyhner and Tennant (1995) state that "the program has weakened somewhat over the years owing to a high rate of teacher turnover in rural Alaska and the lack of intensive training that is required to maintain such a complex program."

In spite of these problems, however, the Yupik found a solution in the form of outside expertise. Reyhner and Tennant (1995) argue concerning Native American language programs that "[what] is needed is the…partnership with curriculum and language experts to develop high quality classroom teaching methods and materials" in such a context. The Yupik program's problem with curriculum at one point reflected this need: according to Reyhner and Tennant, no one teacher knew what the others had taught, leading to a situation in which a high number of lessons were on the topic of seals. This problem was ultimately solved by bringing in a consultant. As a result, "the bilingual program…[has] already made great progress toward achieving equity and excellence in Yupik and English education."

Similarly, the problem of high teacher turnover was avoided in the Rock Point Navajo program. Reyhner (1990) describes how this program hired local teachers and provided local training to become professionals. This strategy resulted in a high teacher-retention rate.

Ultimately, while deficiency in training and relative lack of long-term teachers may result in problems for revitalization and literacy work, these problems can be solved through outside expertise, the development of a professional curriculum, and localized training.

4. TEACHERS' ATTITUDES. Teachers' attitudes and concerns also figure strongly in their impact on literacy work, especially in terms of what they think about the relevance of such education for the students' future. In the case of the Tarahumara, the central government's plan to introduce literacy for all the recognized indigenous languages in the country through bilingual programs failed in part because teachers were generally more concerned about the teaching of Spanish to prepare students for middle school (Paciotto 2000:108). This was a conundrum for the project in that community:

"On one hand, teachers seemed to have absorbed the national and state discourse of the authorities over the value of the native languages and cultures, expressing very positive attitudes toward the preservation of the Tarahumara language and culture. On the other hand, such discourse was not based on reasons compelling enough to make the teachers adopt biliteracy as their primary responsibility."

(Paciotto 2000:108)

Thus, while the teachers agreed in spirit with the idea of language preservation and literacy work in the local language, this did not result in their making efforts to make it a reality. This competition between two values and goals—preparing the students for higher education and preserving and teaching the vernacular—frequently leads to undesirable results for literacy work in such contexts.

In addition, teachers in the Tarahumara community generally objected to the version of the language being taught—a standardized language based on a variant not spoken in those communities—which brought about difficulties for teachers and students (Paciotto 2000:107). In addition, since they were generally concerned for the students' academic success later on, the contextualized, translated, and "watered down" textbooks were rejected by the teachers in favor of the national standard textbooks. This resulted in the situation described by Paciotto (2000:107) that "[children] had written their name on the books, and then stacked the books either on the classroom bookshelves, in open and dusty boxes, or under their chairs. None of the teachers had used the books." This is a sad result for government-created textbooks meant to provide for an immersion-style setting for literacy in the language. Clearly how teachers feel about what should be used and prioritized has a very direct impact on the success of a literacy program in such a language, not to mention long-term academic concerns. However, it should be observed in this case that the problems surrounding the failure of the teachers to fully implement the bilingual program were effectively elucidated by researchers dialoguing with the teachers themselves.

Thus, teachers' opinions about what is in the long-term best interest for their students will heavily influence their decisions about what should be taught in the classroom. As in the case of the Tarahumara, this could ultimately have a greater impact than the government's official language policy, and so such concerns need to be addressed as part of a school-based literacy project. In the end, while teachers' attitudes toward both the literacy program and available materials can affect plans for literacy work, dialogue with teachers may prove beneficial in the effort to address this issue.

5. ORTHOGRAPHY. Decisions of orthography can either 1) serve as a hindrance to a literacy program, or 2) create continued support and interest in the language and its written form.

Grenoble and Whaley (2006:103) consider a prominent reason for failure when literacy is attempted in a given endangered language environment: "Most failed attempts at literacy are associated with outsiders who insist on an orthography, a standardized form of the language…or even a view of literacy, that are unacceptable to the people being asked to adopt them." This has strong implications for the orthography design process since the community may reject a well-designed writing system due to the designers' status as outsiders or their lack of clout within the community. Grenoble and Whaley (2006:103) go on to suggest that the best chances for success in the development of literacy within a given context are when "literacy [is] the product of a grassroots kind of movement, coming from within the community itself and involving community participation in all phases of development." Thus, community members may need to make orthography decisions for themselves if an orthography is to be successful.

5.1. CHOICE OF ORTHOGRAPHY AND OUTCOMES. Three varieties of outcomes often emerge from choices involving orthographies: 1) early "fossilization," i.e., the summary adoption and acceptance of a first or insufficient writing system as authoritative; 2) rejection of the orthography and surrounding controversy; and 3) acceptance with sufficient and appropriate communication with the community.

Early fossilization characterizes the situation for the Koho of Vietnam and the Nahuatl variety of Coatepec Costales, Mexico. Olsen (2000:43-44) discusses literacy among the Koho of Vietnam, a community where people quickly became attached to the first orthography introduced. In this situation, introduction of an improved orthography was rather difficult, resulting in controversial differences in orthography among those entities that have adopted revisions. This then led to division within the community.

The Koho situation is significant for orthography planning in that an early orthography may become permanent among some circles, resulting in difficulty, if not outright opposition, in making changes to improve it later. A similar situation occurred with the Coatepec Costales variety of Nahuatl in Mexico, where the publishing of a single book in the language led to widespread use of the orthography used, with the book itself as a definitive written standard (Grenoble and Whaley 2006:119, citing Canger 1994:passim).

Rejection of an orthography and the surrounding controversy typifies the situation for the Forest Nenets language of Russia and Peruvian Quechua. For the Forest Nenets, Salminen (2000:73) notes that the standard orthography was rejected by the few actively publishing writers in the language, in part due to strong orthographic similarities to Tundra Nenets. The few who are writing in Forest Nenets typically prefer spelling rules that reflect those of languages with which they are in contact, such as Northern Selkup or Eastern Khanty, to one that unites Forest Nenets with a closely related language.

In a roughly similar vein, the Quechua of Peru[2] have experienced difficulty in development of materials due to the controversial question of orthography. Malone (2003:337), citing Hornberger and King (1998), states that "[provision] of Quechua curriculum and instructional materials for bilingual education…have been hampered by an on-going conflict with respect to how the language is written." Thus, literacy work can be quickly impeded if the question of orthography is not attended to in an endangered language context, and bringing about agreement may not necessarily be within reach.

However, different factors led to the opposite situation among the Lisu in Myanmar and Thailand and the Mayangna of Nicaragua, where a new orthography was welcomed when its benefits were clearly recognized by the community. For the Lisu, their earlier orthography included rotated letters—a problem technologically—which led to widespread motivation for the new orthography because it could be used with typewriters and computers (Morse and Tehan 1990:54-55). In addition, those already familiar with standard Roman script could easily understand it (Morse and Tehan 1990:55). Morse and Tehan (2000:55) point out how this relates to the language's endangered status: "Those of middle age, concerned with a steady loss of interest of the mother tongue, were also excited about this revival in interest in one's own language." This was especially the case because "the young people are not currently being motivated to learn reading and writing [in] Lisu" such that "the older Lisus agreed that if a change were not started soon, it would be too late" (2000:58). The new orthography thus served both as a helpful modernizing change that made the language easier to type and resulted in increased interest among the young in their language.

With the Mayangna of Nicaragua, a proposed orthography was quickly accepted by the local community when its benefits were made plain and community concerns were addressed. Benedicto (2000:20, 23) describes the situation where people in the community had concerns about the new

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[2] As with Navajo above, commentators often treat Peruvian Quechua, often with other Quechua varieties, as being endangered in some form, and this is followed here. The reader is directed to Hornberger and King (2001) for an in-depth assessment of the situation.

orthography, but when a culturally appropriate method of communication was used between linguists and community leaders, combined with convincing arguments through the demonstration of minimal pairs in the language, the community came to accept the orthography.

In summary, how an endangered language is written can either hinder literacy, as is happening with Koho or Peruvian Quechua in addition to other communities that find an orthography objectionable, or potentially promote the language as a whole, as among the Lisu. Thus, the choice of a language's orthography is of very serious importance for the success of literacy programs.

6. CONCLUSION. Altogether, attitudes among parents and the community, government policies, teachers' roles, and the choice of orthography contribute to the success or failure of a literacy program in an endangered language community. These can have either a positive or negative effect on the vitality of the local language, depending on local factors and decisions made in the classroom. Consideration of the sensibilities and opinions of community members and teachers is essential, since without their support, literacy projects in endangered language contexts are likely to fail. If these are addressed, many problems may well have achievable solutions. Optimistically speaking, with positive community attitudes, government support, effective training of and dialogue with community teachers, and a process of orthography development that engages community members, a literacy program is far more likely to succeed in developing speakers' ability to read and write as well as contributing to the language's long-term vitality.

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ANIMACY, ALTERNATION, AND ACCEPTABILITY: EVIDENCE FROM ENGLISH AND MANDARIN

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Abstract: This paper shows that, with due recognition of the role of semantic factors like animacy, some linguistic phenomena can be given a simple and straightforward account. Specifically, it demonstrates that the Animate-Subject-as-Agent/Experiencer Strategy, a processing strategy tied to the animacy of the subject NP, can not only help account for the different degrees of difficulty in obtaining the different readings of a sentence containing a Mandarin resultative verb compound, but also can give a straightforward account of some contrasts and some gradience in acceptability judgments with respect to the middle construction, the dative alternation, and the transitivity alternation in English and/or Mandarin. This study thus provides further support for the psycholinguistic claim that animacy, as a semantic notion, plays an important role in sentence processing.

Keywords: animacy, acceptability, gradience, processing, middle construction, dative alternation, transitivity, elision
Languages: English, Mandarin

MANY, IF NOT MOST OR ALL, LANGUAGES have one or more areas that are sensitive to the animacy of what is denoted by a noun or noun phrase. For example, there is a plural marker -们 *-men* in Mandarin, but it can be used only for animate beings, particularly humans. This can be seen from the fact that, while 客人-们 *keren-men* (guest-PL) can be used to refer to guests, *桌子-们 *zhuozi-men (table-PL) 'tables' is ill-formed in Mandarin.[1]

In functional and typological frameworks, animacy is often used to account for crosslinguistic or intralinguistic patterns. For example, Dixon (1994) uses the nominal hierarchy (cf. the animacy hierarchy proposed by Comrie (1989:185)) in (1) to explain case marking in various languages (particularly ergative languages) and to account for what is more likely to occur in the A function (i.e., the position for transitive subjects) and what is more likely to be in the O function (i.e., the position for transitive objects). In generative grammar, however, structure-internal and grammar-

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[1] Abbreviations: CL=classifier; PERF=perfective.

internal explanations are normally sought and such explanations are independent of pragmatic, communicative, and, in many cases, even semantic considerations.

(1)   Nominal Hierarchy (Dixon 1994:85)

Common Nouns

		Demonstratives				
1ˢᵗ person pronouns	2ⁿᵈ person pronouns	3ʳᵈ person pronouns	Proper nouns	Human	Animate	Inanimate

more likely to be in A than in O function
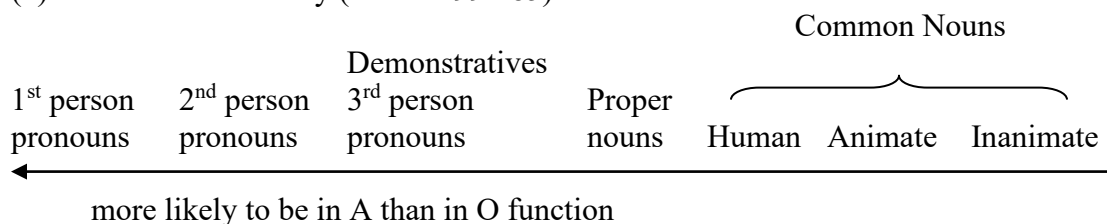
The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, the paper is intended to examine the implication of the "Animate-Subject-as-Agent/Experiencer" strategy or the ASA strategy in (2) for several constructions or alternations: the middle construction, the dative alternation, and the subject elision. Second, it is intended to show that structure-internal explanations may not always be reasonable or sufficient and that some linguistic phenomena can be given a better and a more straightforward account when semantics and pragmatics are taken into consideration.

(2)   Animate-Subject-as-Agent/Experiencer Strategy (ASA Strategy) (see Li 2005:322)
       Unless there is any other evidence, interpret the animate subject as the Agent or Experiencer of the verb or verb compound.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 shows that the ASA strategy is independently motivated by the ambiguity phenomenon found with some Mandarin sentences containing a resultative verb compound (RVC). Section 2 examines the implication of the ASA strategy for the middle construction, the dative alternation, and the subject elision. The final section concludes the paper and summarizes its main findings.

1. MOTIVATING THE ANIMATE-SUBJECT-AS-AGENT/EXPERIENCER STRATEGY. This section is intended to show that the ASA strategy is independently motivated and to pave the way for examining its application to several other constructions in the next section. Specifically, the ASA strategy is at least partly responsible for the different degrees of difficulty in obtaining the different readings of the same sentence containing an RVC.

In accounting for ambiguity in Mandarin RVCs and the varying degrees of difficulty in obtaining the different readings of the same sentence, Li (2005, 2008) proposes that the different degrees of difficulty in obtaining the different readings result from iconicity considerations and one processing strategy, namely the ASA strategy in (2). For example, (3) contains an RVC *zhui-lei* 'chase-tired' and the sentence allows three different readings. Among the three readings, the first is overall the easiest one to get and the third is the hardest one to obtain.[2]

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[2] An anonymous reviewer regarded the second reading as the hardest one to get. This, however, deviates from the general view discussed by Li (2005, 2008), a view supported by his consultation with some other native speakers of Mandarin. My consultation, for this paper, with ten native speakers of Mandarin Chinese further confirms the view that the first two readings of (3) are both easier to obtain than the third reading. It is worth pointing out that, when asked to provide all the possible readings of (3) in the order that they came to their minds, none of my consultants provided the third reading of (3) in their initial responses.

(3)   张三**追累**了李四。
       Zhangsan   **zhui-lei**-le   Lisi.
       Zhangsan   chase-tired-PERF   Lisi.
       (a) 'Zhangsan chased Lisi and Zhangsan got Lisi tired.'   (the easiest reading)
       (b) 'Zhangsan chased Lisi and Zhangsan got himself tired.'
       (c) 'Lisi chased Zhangsan and Zhangsan got Lisi tired.'   (the hardest reading)

It should be noted that in the first reading of (3) the Agent argument of the first subevent denoted by the first element of the RVC is realized as the Causer argument of the whole compound, and the Patient argument of V1 is identified with the Patient argument of V2 (i.e., the result component of the RVC), which is realized as the Causee argument of the whole RVC. This realization of the Causer and Causee arguments is iconic to the typical complex event denoted by the whole compound. That is, when the causing component of an RVC is transitive and when the other things are equal, it is most natural for the Agent argument of the transitive causing component to be realized as the Causer of the whole compound and for the Patient argument of the transitive causing component to be the entity realized as the Causee that undergoes a change of state caused by the action intiated by the Agent of the causing component. As a result, the (3a) reading is easiest to obtain partly because it reflects the most natural way of realizing the Causer and Causee arguments of the compound. Moreover, the (3a) reading conforms to the ASA strategy in that the animate subject is interpreted as the agent of the causing component of the compound, and this also contributes to the easy processing of the sentence in (3). On the other hand, the (3c) reading is the most difficult to get because it is in opposition to the natural way of realizing the Causer and Causee arguments in that the chasee is conceptualized as the Causer and the chaser is conceptualized as the Causee that becomes tired. Moreover, this reading violates the processing strategy in (2) because the animate subject is interpreted as the Patient, not the Agent of the chasing event. As for the (3b) reading, it conforms to the ASA strategy as the animate subject is indeed interpreted as an Agent. However, it does not conform to a prototypical causative event in that what is acted to or upon or what is chased in this specific case is not the entity that undergoes the change and becomes tired. As a result, the (3b) reading is something in between among the three allowed interpretations of (3), and it is easier to obtain than the (3c) reading but overall harder to get than the (3a) reading.

It can be seen from the discussion of (3) that the ASA strategy is at least partly responsible for the different degrees of difficulty in obtaining the different readings of the sentence. Moreover, the functioning of the ASA strategy can be further seen from (4-5). The animate subject in (4) is interpreted as the Agent of the beating action and the one in (5) is interpreted as the Experiencer of *ai* 'to love'. As both interpretations conform to the ASA strategy, they also conform to and support the fact that both (4) and (5) are natural and grammatical sentences.

(4)   张三打了他一顿。
       Zhangsan   da-le   ta   yi-dun.
       Zhangsan   beat-PERF   he   one-CL
       'Zhangsan beat him.'

(5)   他父亲很爱他。
       Ta   fuqin   hen   ai   ta.
       he   father   a.lot love   he
       'His father loves him a lot.'

Before moving on to the next section and examining the application of the ASA strategy to several other constructions, it is necessary to point out two more things. First, "other evidence" in (2) is of three types. The first type is contextual cues; the second is structural cues, i.e., the use of passive morphemes; and the third type is related to the principle in (6). The evidence for (6) can be seen from the English example in (7) and the Mandarin example in (8). The *break* in (7b-c) is intended as an intransitive verb and all the sentences in (7-8) are intended to be complete sentences. Interestingly, *Terry* in (7c) and *Zhangsan* in (8b) have to be interpreted as the entity that has become broken. This offers strong support for the principle in (6).

(6)   Intransitive-Subject-as-Patient Principle (ISPP) (Li 2005:322)
        The subject of an intransitive verb or verb compound which encodes a change of state must be interpreted as Patient.

(7)   a.   Terry broke the vase right away.
        b.   The vase broke right away.
        c.   *Terry broke right away.

(8)   a.   杯子碎了。
             Beizi   sui-le.
             cup   break-PERF
             'The cup broke into pieces.'
        b.   *张三碎了。
             *Zhangsan   sui-le.
              Zhangsan   break-PERF
             *'Zhangsan broke into pieces.'

With respect to the ASA strategy, I would like to also point out that the strategy can be said to be a specific instantiation of the animacy factor in sentence processing. In this respect, it should also be pointed out that animacy is a well-established factor that affects sentence processing. Regardless of whether a serial model of natural language processing is assumed or not, animacy, as a semantic notion, plays an important role in sentence processing (e.g., Altmann & Steedmann 1988, Clifton et al. 2003, Rayner et al. 1983, Trueswell et al. 1994, Wang 2011, Wang et al. 2012). For example, according to Trueswell et al. (1994), reduced relative clauses with animate nouns like (9a) are generally more difficult to process than reduced relative clauses with inanimate nouns like (9b).

(9)   Trueswell et al. 1994:286
        a.   **The defendant examined** by the lawyer turned out to be unreliable.
        b.   **The evidence examined** by the lawyer turned out to be unreliable.

This is because the animate NP *the defendant* in (9a) is a good candidate for the Agent role played by the external argument of *examine*. As a result, at the point of *examined*, (9a) induced a past-tense reading rather than a participial reading. In contrast, the relevant NP in (9b), namely *the evidence*, is inanimate, and it does not fit with the Agent role played by the external argument of *examine* from a semantic point of view. On the other hand, *the evidence* is semantically compatible with an interpretation on which it is the Patient argument of *examine*. As a result, at the point of

examined the verb is rightly interpreted as being in its participial form, and *the evidence examined* is correctly understood as a reduced relative clause. In sum, due to the animacy difference of the NPs involved, (9a) is more likely to lead one down a garden path than (9b). As a result, sentences like (9a) are, in general, more difficult to parse than sentences like (9b).

2. THE ASA STRATEGY AND SEVERAL OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS. Along the lines of research seen above as to the use of the ASA strategy in accounting for the ambiguity phenomenon with respect to sentences containing an RVC, this section examines the implication of the ASA strategy for several other constructions or alternations, namely the middle construction, the dative alternation, and the subject elision. It proposes that the ASA strategy plays an important role in processing a sentence and can account for a great deal of gradience in judgments with respect to such constructions or alternations, although the strategy can be overridden by lexical, structural, or pragmatic factors.

First, the working of the ASA strategy is evidenced by the formation of the middle construction, which, according to Ackema and Schoorlemmer (2006:132), has the characteristics in (10).

(10) Characteristics of the Middle Construction (Ackema and Schoorlemmer 2006:132)
  a. The external argument of the non-middle counterpart of the middle verb cannot be expressed as a regular DP-argument in the middle.
  b. If the non-middle counterpart of the middle verb has a direct internal argument role, the subject of the middle sentence carries this role.
  c. The middle verb is stative, non-episodic. The middle sentence is a generic statement. It expresses that the argument mentioned in (b) has a particular individual-level property, or that events denoted by the verb or the verb-argument combination have a particular property in general.

Interestingly, not all middles are created equal. While the middle in (11a) is acceptable, the one in (11b) is not. As shown by (11b), animate NPs are normally incompatible with this construction. This can be readily accounted for by the ASA strategy, by which the animate subject in (11b) is interpreted as the Agent of the verb. This interpretation, however, conflicts with the requirement of the middle construction, namely that the subject must be understood as the Patient of the verb. However, since there are no lexical, structural, or pragmatic cues to prevent the ASA strategy from applying and to resolve the conflict, (11b) is correctly predicted to be bad.

(11) Middle Construction (Fellbaum 1986:12)
  a. The lawn mower handles easily.
  b. *The boss handles easily.

Moreover, my proposal can also account for the fact that, although the referents of the single NPs in (12), like the referent of the single NP *the boss* in (11b), are also animate, the examples in (12) are better than (11b). On my proposal, this is because in this case the ASA strategy is overridden by either independently motivated hard principles or by pragmatic cues.

(12) a. The man scares easily.
  b. Those smart students teach easily.

Specifically, (12a) involves a verb encoding a change of state. Crucially, there is independent evidence from English lexical causatives like *break* (see (7) above) and Mandarin resultative verb compounds like 刨-平 *bao-ping* 'to.plane-flat' (see (13) below) that the participant undergoing the change must be realized in the overt syntax in a complete sentence. [3]

(13) a. 张三已经刨平了桌面。
          Zhangsan   yijing   bao-ping-le   zhuo-mian.
          Zhangsan   already   to.plane-flat-PERF   table-surface
          'Zhangsan has already planed the top of the table flat.'

      b. 桌面已经刨平了。
          Zhuo-mian   yijing   bao-ping-le.[4]   (complete)
          table-surface already   to.plane-flat-PERF
          'The top of the table has already been planed and as a result it has already become flat.'

      c. 张三已经刨平了。
          Zhangsan   yijing   bao-ping-le.   (incomplete)
          Zhangsan   already   to.plane-flat-PERF
          'Zhangsan has already planed (it) flat.'

In fact, it is the data in (7-8) (and (13)) that motivate the ISPP in (6). In this respect, note that (13c) does not violate the principle in (6) for two reasons. First, the sentence in question, if viewed as grammatical and acceptable, is an incomplete sentence. Second, the RVC in (13c) is used as a transitive verb. Now in the case of (12a), the verb involved encodes a change of state and the sentence can be perceived as a complete sentence. Given the ISPP and given the fact that *the man*

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[3] For the first syllable of *pao-ping*, one anonymous reviewer suggested the traditional characters 鉋 *(bao)* and 鏄 *(bao)*. However, in the simplified version of Chinese characters used mainly in mainland China, 刨 is used to mean 'to even something with a carpenter plane'.

[4] It should be pointed out that there is good evidence that the single overt argument of (13b) is the subject of the whole sentence at least for those cases in which it is used as a complete sentence. First, in terms of linear order, it appears in the canonical subject position of Chinese. Second, unlike the topicalized NP in (i), which is typically accompanied with a pause, normally no pause is involved with respect to the single NP in (13b), as also pointed out by Ting (2006). This suggests that it is at least not necessary to analyze the sentence in (13b) as involving a topicalized Causee and a dropped Causer which occupies the subject position. Third, the example in (13b) is similar to the inchoative use of English change-of-state predicates such as *break* and *open* in (ii) in both form and meaning, except that the sentences in (ii), unlike the one in (13b), do not entail a Causer. Given this, the fact that the NPs of the sentences in (ii) are subjects strongly suggests that the single NP in (13b) is also a subject. Finally, unlike (iii), which is strongly felt to be an incomplete sentence without a proper context, the sentence in (13b) sounds natural without any further context. Based on the above evidence, I conclude that the NP in (13b) is a subject.

(i)   桌面，张三已经刨平了。
         Zhuo-mian,   Zhangsan   yijing   bao-ping-le.
         table-surface Zhangsan   already   to.plane-flat-PERF
         'Speaking of the top of the table, Zhangsan has already planed it flat.'
(ii)   a.   The vase broke right away.
         b.   The door opened right away.
(iii)   张三已经寄出去了。
         Zhangsan   yijing   ji-chuqu-le.
         Zhangsan   already   send-out-PERF
         'Zhangsan has already sent (it) out.'

in (12a) is the single argument involved, this argument has to be interpreted as the participant undergoing the change. Given that the ISPP is a hard inviolable principle and that the ASA strategy is just a heuristic processing strategy, the ASA strategy can be overridden by the application of the ISPP and the semantics of the middle construction and this is exactly what happens to (12a). As the application of the ISPP to (12a) gives rise to the interpretation that the man is the person who became scared and as this conforms to the middle interpretation, (12a) is rightly predicted to be good.

As for (12b), the ASA strategy in this case is overridden by pragmatic cues, i.e., the fact that students are entities that are taught rather than entities that teach others. As this overriding is due to pragmatic considerations, it is not as forceful as the overriding due to hard principles. This correctly predicts that in a fine-grained judgment test, (12a) is deemed better than (12b).[5]

Second, the ASA strategy can straightforwardly account for the data in (14b). Baker (1997) observes that although dative alternation is allowed in (14a), the same alternation is bad in (14b). Baker takes this to mean that Goals cannot function as subjects of unaccusative verbs. That is, to Baker, *drop* in (14b) is intended to be intransitive and *John* is intended to be a Goal and to be underlyingly in a postverbal position.

(14) Dative Alternation (Baker 1997:95)
    a. They dropped the rope (down) to John.
       They dropped John (down) the rope.
    b. The rope dropped (down) to John.
       *John$_i$ dropped t$_i$ (down) the rope. ["John" is intended to be a Goal.]

Therefore, Baker (1997) seems to suggest that it is at least possible to analyze *John* in the string of *John dropped the rope* as having the semantic role of Goal. However, in my view, the sentence *John dropped the rope* in fact does not allow *John* to be understood as a Goal at all. Rather, *drop* in the sentence has to be analyzed as a transitive verb. As a result of the ASA strategy, which in this case is not overridden by anything, *John* in the sentence is interpreted as the Agent of the verb. As in this case no Goal or Recipient can be involved, there is no room for dative alternation, an alternation involving and in fact requiring a Goal or Recipient. As a result, there is in fact a natural reason for the unavailability of dative alternation in (14b), namely the lack of any Goal or Recipient argument.

Third, the ASA strategy also plays a role in the contrast between (15) and (16) with respect to subject elision in Mandarin Chinese. That is, with respect to (15b), the ASA strategy is inapplicable as the referent of the single NP is inanimate. As a result, the interpretation of *fangzi* as a Patient is not incompatible with the ASA strategy. However, with respect to (16b), the referent of the single overt NP is animate, and it is possible for the ASA strategy to apply. As there is nothing that overrides the application of the ASA strategy, (16b), following the ASA strategy, can only be interpreted as "Lisi likes (somebody or something)", not "Lisi is liked (by someone)". As a result, (16b) is bad on the intended interpretation.

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[5] An anonymous reviewer mentioned that (12b) would be bad if "students" were replaced with "instructors". I agree with the reviewer's judgment. The unacceptability of *Those smart instructors teach easily* can be explained in the same way as (11b). That is, its ill-formedness is due to the conflict created by the requirement of the middle construction and the application of the ASA strategy.

(15) a. 张三已经建了房子。

        Zhangsan   yijing   jian-le   fangzi.
        Zhangsan   already   build-PERF house
        'Zhangsan has already built the house.'

    b.   房子已经建了。

        Fangzi   yijing   jian-le.
        house   already   build-PERF
        'The house has already been built.'

(16) Adapted from Cheng 1989:82

    a. 张三很喜欢李四。

        Zhangsan   hen xihuan   Lisi.
        Zhangsan   very like   Lisi
        'Zhangsan likes Lisi.'

    b.   *李四很喜欢。

        *Lisi   hen xihuan.
        Lisi   very like
        Intended: 'Lisi is very much liked.'

With respect to (16), it should be pointed out that Cheng (1989:88) accounts for the ungrammaticality of (16b) with the condition that, for an external theta-role of a verb to be "eliminated" or "optionally linked to" the predicate argument structure of the verb, it is necessary that the lexical conceptual structure of the verb consist of an "internal theme" or an "affected object". Further, "verbs which do not allow transitivity alternations are the ones without an internal theme".

Cheng's (1989) proposal can indeed account for the ungrammaticality of (16b), as *xihuan* in (16a) arguably does not involve an affected object and so cannot participate in the alternation. However, it fails to explain why (17b) below is bad while (15b) above is acceptable. This is because, to Cheng, *jian* in (15a) has to be analyzed as a transitive verb involving an affected theme so as to successfully account for the contrast between (15b) and (16b). The problem is that *zou-shang* in (17a), as an RVC having a result component, certainly involves an affected object but fails in participating in the alternation in question, as evidenced by the unacceptability of (17b) on the intended interpretation.[6]

(17) a. 张三揍伤了李四。

        Zhangsan   zou-shang-le   Lisi.
        Zhangsan   beat-wounded-PERF   Lisi
        'Zhangsan beat Lisi and as a result Lisi became wounded.'

    b. *李四揍伤了。

        *Lisi   zou-shang-le.
        Lisi   beat-wounded-PERF
        Intended: "Lisi was beat and as a result he became wounded.'

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[6] An anonymous reviewer claimed that (17b) was acceptable on the intended interpretation. However, almost all of my consultants viewed the sentence as unacceptable.

My ASA strategy, however, can successfully account for not only the ungrammaticality of (16b) (as seen above) but also the unacceptability of (17b) and the contrast between (17b) above and (18b) below, both of which involve complex predicates in the form of a resultative verb compound.

(18) a. 张三已经擦干净了桌子。

     Zhangsan   yijing   ca-ganjing-le   zhuozi.
     Zhangsan   already   wipe-clean-PERF   table
     'Zhangsan has already wiped the table clean.'

    b.   桌子已经擦干净了。

     Zhuozi   yijing   ca-ganjing-le.
     table   already   wipe-clean-PERF
     'The table has already been wiped clean.'

As far as (17b) is concerned, the single argument has to be understood as the participant that undergoes the change encoded by the result component of *zou-shang* 'beat-wounded'. This is due to the fact that *zou-shang* contains a result component and its intransitive use invokes the application of the ISPP in (6). However, this, unlike the case of (12a), cannot override the application of the ASA strategy, because *zou-shang* is a complex predicate that entails both a causing subevent and a result subevent. Then the application of the ASA strategy leads to the single NP in (17b) being understood as an Agent, but the ISPP requires that the single argument be understood as the participant undergoing the change. As the application of the ASA strategy and the application of the ISPP leads to a conflict in interpretation, it is correctly predicted that (17b) is not an acceptable form for expressing the intended meaning.[7] As for the grammaticality of (18b), it is due to the application of the ISPP and the inapplicability of the ASA strategy. As the RVC *ca-ganjing* in (18b), like *zou-shang* in (17b), also has a component denoting a change of state, the ISPP applies and leads to *zhuozi*'s being interpreted as a Patient. As the referent of *zhuozi* is inanimate, the ASA strategy is, in this case, inapplicable. As the intended reading of (18b) is

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[7] With this said, I agree with the reviewer that the two examples in (i) are better than (17b), as evidenced by the fact that half of my consultants regarded them as acceptable. On the other hand, they are still not as good as (18b). I take this to mean that there is still the application of the ASA strategy in the two examples in (i), and this accounts for the fact that the other half of my consultants viewed the two sentences as unacceptable. As for why the examples in (i) are overall perceived better than (17b), I suspect that it is probably related to the fact that *xing* 'awake' and *hao* 'well' in (i) indicate the intended result of *jiu* 'rescue' and *zhi* 'treat' respectively while *shang* 'injured, wounded' is not necessarily the intended result of *zou* 'beat'. The fact that the result component of an RVC like *zhi-hao* 'treat-well' expresses the intended result of the causing predicate, I believe, makes the intransitive form of the RVC focus more on the result and the participant undergoing a change of state, and thus makes the application of the ASA strategy less effective.

(i) a. ?李四救醒了。
     ?Lisi jiu-xing-le.
     Lisi   rescue-awake-PERF
     Intended: 'Lisi was resuscitated.'

    b. ?李四治好了。
     ?Lisi zhi-hao-le.
     Lisi   treat-well-PERF
     Intended: 'Lisi was cured.'

compatible with the interpretation resulting from the application of the ISPP, (18b) is correctly predicted to be grammatical.

3. CONCLUSION. This paper has shown the importance of recognizing the role of semantic factors like animacy in accounting for some linguistic phenomena. It has demonstrated that the ASA strategy, a processing strategy tied to the animacy of the subject NP, can (help) account for several linguistic phenomena in a simple and straightforward way, namely (i) the different degrees of difficulty in obtaining the different readings of a sentence containing a Mandarin RVC, (ii) some contrasts and some gradience in acceptability judgments with respect to English middle constructions, (iii) some contrasts in dative alternation in English, and (iv) the transitivity alternation in Mandarin. Given the status of the ASA strategy as a processing strategy, this study also provides further support for the psycholinguistic claim that animacy, as a semantic notion, plays an important role in sentence processing. A complete theory of sentence processing, though, needs to certainly take into account all different factors, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and contextual.

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☙

A NEW ACCOUNT OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE WORD STRESS

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Abstract: In this paper, I propose a new account of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) stress in non-verbal words. The issue of word stress in BP has been addressed in various theoretical frameworks. A point of disagreement between phonologists is the relevance of syllable weight in word stress assignment. In this paper, I propose a new analysis of BP word stress assignment in the framework of CVCV phonology. The potential for empty syllabic positions in this theory enables us to generalize unmarked word stress in the non-verbal lexicon in BP (i.e., paroxytonic with light final syllables and oxytonic with heavy final syllables) – unmarked stress systematically falls on the penultimate vocalic position. All exceptions to this generalization must have word stress marked in the lexicon.

Keywords: Brazilian Portuguese, word stress, CVCV phonology, syllable weight
Languages: Portuguese

INTRODUCTION. BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE[1] WORD STRESS HAS BEEN STUDIED within different theoretical frameworks (e.g., Câmara Jr. 1970, in a structuralist framework; Mateus, 1975, 1983, in linear generative theory; Bisol, 1992, Lee, 1994, and Mateus & D'Andrade, 2000, in autosegmental theory, and Wetzels, 2007, in optimality theory). All these different approaches have advantages and disadvantages, and unsolved problems, of course. A recurring point of disagreement between phonologists is the question of syllable weight and its relevance to the attribution of word stress in Portuguese, an issue that arises in other Romance languages. For example, Wetzels (2007) argues that in BP the parameter of weight-by-position is restricted to non-verbal items. In contrast, Bisol (1992) argues that i) word stress is weight-sensitive in all words, and that ii) word stress falls on the penultimate syllable of non-verbs by default (in light or heavy syllables) but on the final syllable if it is heavy.

Before outlining my own contribution to this debate, I will review some features of the word stress system in BP (§1). Next (§2), I will explain the main principles of the theoretical framework adopted – "CVCV phonology" (or "strict CV" phonology, cf. Lowenstamm, 1996, Scheer, 2004, 2015). In particular, I will show that the analysis of word stress under this approach differs from that under other more established theories, and I will highlight some clear advantages of this

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[1] There are some differences between European and Brazilian Portuguese. In this paper, I focus on Brazilian Portuguese. Transcriptions of all given examples are based on the Rio de Janeiro dialect.

framework in the description of accentual phenomena in general. Finally, in the last section, I will propose a new analysis[2] of BP word stress in this framework.

1. SOME GENERAL COMMENTS ON WORD STRESS IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE. In this section, I will provide a short introduction to the word stress system in BP. In this language, there are three possible stress patterns: (1) Oxytons, or words with final stress, such as *nariz* [na'ɾiʃ] 'nose', *calor* [ka'loh] 'heat', *abacaxi* [abaka'ʃi] 'pineapple'; (2) Paroxytons, which are words with prefinal stress such as *sala* ['sala] 'room', *cabelo* [ka'belu] 'hair', *pele* ['pɛ.li] 'skin'; and (3) Proparoxytons, words with the third syllable from the end stressed such as *sábado* ['sabadu] 'Saturday', *estômago* [iʃ'tomagu] 'stomach', *música* ['muzika] 'music', etc.

The most common stress pattern in Portuguese (and in Spanish) is prefinal stress. Final stress is more common in words ending in a consonant. Words accented on the final syllable ending with a vowel are exceptions; these are often words of foreign origin. Proparoxytons are very rare and obey specific restrictions. One significant restriction concerns the penultimate syllable – if it is heavy (that is, ending with a consonant or a diphthong), the word cannot be a proparoxyton. For example, a sequence like *cáderno* is blocked, so the word must have prefinal stress *caderno* 'copybook' *['ka.dɛh.nu] / [ka.'dɛh.nu]. There are some exceptions, of course, but those are foreign loan words (such as *pênalti* ['penawtʃi] 'penalty').

Given that Latin word stress was fully predictable according to syllabic weight, the question arises (in BP as in other languages derived from Latin) whether syllabic weight would be relevant in assigning stress, synchronically.

Although initially, in the passage from classical Latin to Vulgar Latin, word stress generally remained on the same syllable, later stress acquired a certain freedom. In Portuguese (and Spanish), this freedom is limited to the last three syllables of the word, which is a remnant of the Latin accentual system.

Three facts seem to suggest that Portuguese is sensitive to syllable weight. The first is that most words ending with a vowel have prefinal stress. Secondly, words that end with a consonant generally have final syllable stress. Finally, a penultimate heavy syllable cannot be skipped by stress (*['ka.dɛh.nu] → [ka.'dɛh.nu]). Word stress would fall on the penultimate syllable by default, or on the last syllable of the word if it is heavy.

However, in some analyses (e.g. Mateus, 1983, Lee, 1994, and Mateus & D'Andrade, 2000), it is necessary to consider morphological structure when describing stress placement. In non-verbs, most paroxytons end with a thematic vowel /a/, *sala* ['sala] 'room'; /o/, *bolo* ['bolu] 'cake', /e/ *rede* ['hedʒi] 'network'. This thematic vowel is absent in oxytons: *calor* [ka'loh] 'heat', *nariz* [na'ɾiʃ] 'nose', *abacaxi* [abaka'ʃi] 'pineapple'. Proceeding from this fact, these analyses have established that the presence or absence of the thematic vowel determines stress placement. Accordingly, stress falls on the last vowel of the root: in paroxytons: sál]a, ból]o, réd]e; and in oxytons: calór], raíz], abacaxí].

This morphological account works for most words, but it does not explain the restriction on the antepenultimate pattern. The biggest problem for an analysis based solely on morphology is antepenultimate stress and its restriction on the penultimate syllable. This pattern can only be explained by a weight-sensitive system.

There is another observation we can make about the interaction of the stress and the morphology of non-verbs. The addition of a flexional suffix does not change stress placement, as we can see in example (1). The situation is more complex in the case of a derivational suffix

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[2] Cf. Meireles (2014a, 2014b) for further details.

(examples 2-4). Words terminated by a suffix ending in an open final syllable are generally given prefinal stress (example 2) and words with a suffix ending in a consonant or diphthong are generally given final stress (example 3). There are also so-called unstressable suffixes (example 4).

(1) *casa* ['kaza] 'house' *casas* ['kazaʃ] 'houses'

(2) *jogo* ['ʒogu] 'game' *jogado* [ʒo'gadu] 'played'

(3) *jogo* ['ʒogu] 'game' *jogador* [ʒoga'doh] 'player'

(4) *carne* ['kahni] 'meat' *carnívoro* [kah'nivuru] 'carnivorous' (suffix -*voro*)

We can conclude that some morphological information is necessary for stress placement in non-verbs. However, the role of morphology seems much more determinative for stress placement in verbs than in non-verbs. One of the issues that arises in preexisting analyses of Portuguese main stress is whether there is a single allocation stress system or two sub-systems, one for non-verbs and one for verbs. In verbs, prefinal stress is more common, regardless of phonological structure. In other words, the lightness or heaviness of the syllable seems to have no effect on stress placement. In view of these differences, I argue that there are two systems. In this paper, I will limit my analysis to the nominal system.

In view of the above, I adopt the relevance of syllabic weight in Portuguese. Nevertheless, as will become clearer in the next section, its role is reinterpreted under the theoretical framework of CVCV phonology.

2. CVCV PHONOLOGY AND WORD STRESS. I now turn to a brief introduction to CVCV phonology and how it accounts for stress phenomena and reinterprets the role of syllabic weight in general. I will then move on to the analysis of Portuguese in particular.

CVCV phonology is a more radical branch of Government Theory (Kaye, Lowenstamm, Vergnaud, 1985, 1990). In this approach, the syllable has only two constituents, C and V. There are no complex onsets or codas. More complex syllables, such as closed syllables, geminate consonants and long vowels, can be reduced to a simple CV configuration if we allow the existence of empty positions: empty rhymes and empty onsets (Lowenstamm, 1996). As represented in (5), a closed syllable is reanalyzed into CV pairs:

(5)   Closed syllable   Reanalysis

         [CVC] [CV]   [CV] [CV] [CV]
          | | | | | | | | | | |
          t a k t i   t a   k   t i

In order to clarify the advantages or disadvantages of this theory for the description of accentual assignment in Portuguese, we must consider the way that stress is represented in this theory in comparison to others.

In Autosegmental phonology, for example, it is common to use separate levels to represent stress structure (Liberman and Prince, 1977, or Halle & Vergnaud, 1987) and syllabic structure

(the best-known models are the syllabic model of metric phonology [Kiparsky 1979, Selkirk, 1982], the CV model [Clements & Keyser, 1983] and the X-bar model [Levin, 1985]). This is due to the fact that, in the languages in which syllabic weight is relevant to the stress system, only the internal structure of the syllabic rhyme is taken into account.

Thus, some accentual systems distinguish heavy and light syllables. In these systems, CVV and CVC syllables are heavy and so attract stress, in contrast to the syllables of the CV type, which only receive stress by default. We can use the Latin system as a demonstration. In Latin, the stress is proparoxytonic in words of more than two syllables, unless the penultimate syllable is heavy, in which case it attracts the stress. The classic representation of this is shown in (6):

(6)   The Latin stress system: syllabic account of proparoxytons (Autosegmental phonology)

dícere   cólubra

(7)   The Latin stress system: syllabic account of paroxytons (Autosegmental phonology)

habéere   arísta
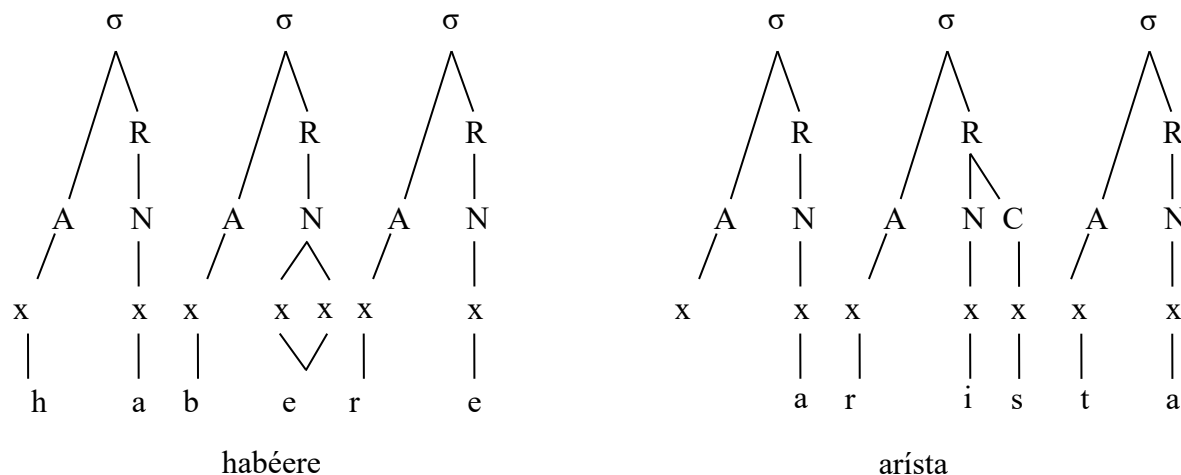
Latin is therefore a syllabic weight sensitive language. But what is interesting is the fact that codas do not necessarily count towards the syllabic weight in some languages, while onsets never count.

If, as postulated in CVCV phonology, a coda is actually an onset followed by an empty nucleus or V position, consonants in the coda never count in any language; what always counts are the

nuclei, whether they are filled or empty.

The parameter known as weight-by-position (Hayes, 1989) is thus reformulated: it is not about the metric relevance of codas; rather, it is about the visibility of empty nuclei. The equivalent of a heavy syllable or a bimoraic syllable in strict CV theory is a pair of CV units.

Thus, in terms of CVCV phonology, Latin stress falls on the vowel associated with the third last nucleus, counting filled and empty nuclei alike[3]:

(8) The Latin stress system in CVCV phonology (Scheer & Szigetvári, 2005: 58)

a) Proparoxytons
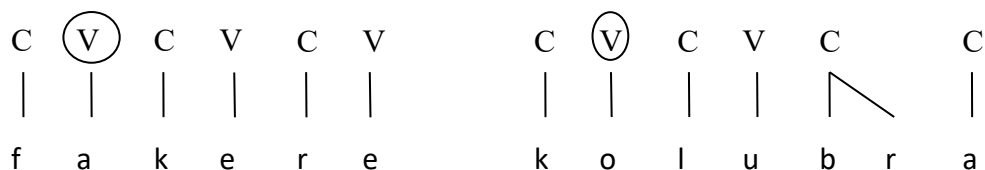
b) Paroxytons
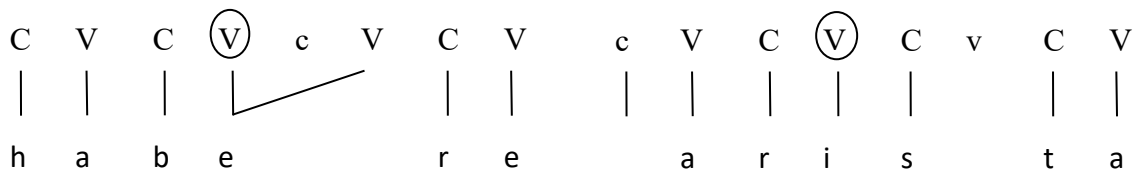
Despite some exceptions[4], CVCV analysis seems to have some theoretical advantages. One advantage is the unification of syllabic and accentual representations in a single setting. In other theories, the relevant units for the syllabic weight project an asterisk or a mora in the metric grid.

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[3] I must make an observation at this point. According to Scheer, there is a difference between consonant sequences formed by complex onsets (increasing sonority sequences), as in the proparoxytonic Latin word *colubra*, and sequences formed by a coda + onset (decreasing sonority sequences), as in *arista*. The empty vowel nuclei in complex onsets do not count because of the melodic interplay between the consonants: infra-segmental government. This goes beyond the desired scope of this article, so I will say that stress cannot access these empty nuclei because it is not sensitive to melodic properties of the segments. On other hand, an existing empty nucleus between a coda and an adjacent onset may or may not be visible to the stress; it remains empty because of another relationship of government, the government itself, which is a supra-segmental mechanism and therefore not melodic.

[4] There are three exceptions: words like *dóminus*, *fáciō* and *formula*. In *dóminus* and *fáciō*, heavy final syllables do not interfere with the allocation of stress in Latin, which is why the most common analyses give them the status of extrametricality (dómi<nus>, fáci<ō>). In strict CV the extrametricality of elements of a word cannot be formulated in the same way as these sequences correspond to two CVs: one case ends with an empty core (*dóminus(V)*) and the other with a long vowel (*fáci(C)o(C)o*). *Fórmula* is even more problematic for strict CV because the stress would fall on the fourth vowel position from the end of the word. To handle this situation, Scheer & Szigetvári (2005: 58) suggest a mechanism to transfer the stress to the left of the empty position, since the stress can only fall on a vocalic filled position.

If, however, stress assignment only counts nuclei, there is no need for such a projection; the necessary information is already in the syllabic representation. Another advantage is that under this analysis stress becomes a mostly vocalic phenomenon. It is generally accepted that only consonants in a coda can add weight to the syllable. Classic analyses are neutral with regard to the weight of onsets, they cannot predict the absence of a language in which only onsets count and codas do not. Only codas can be relevant to stress; this is predicted in the strict CV framework as a formal consequence of the theory.

3. THE ANALYSIS OF BP STRESS SYSTEM. Let us return to the analysis of Portuguese, applying the same reasoning by which the units accounting for word stress are vowel positions, full and empty.

Given the consistent patterns presented in section 1, in CVCV phonology terms we can say that predictable stress falls on the penultimate vocalic position of the word (9):

(9)   Portuguese paroxyton *cabelo* [ka'belu] 'hair' in CVCV

```
C    V    C   (V)   C    V
|    |    |    |    |    |
k    a    b    e    l    u
```
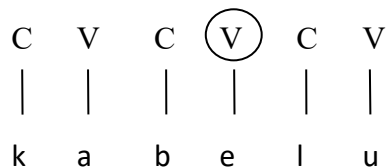
In my analysis, unmarked final stresses (words ending with a consonant) are also stressed on the penultimate vocalic position (10):

(10) Portuguese oxyton *calor* [ka'loh] in CVCV (unmarked)

```
C    V    C   (V)   C    v
|    |    |    |    |
k    a    l    o    h
```
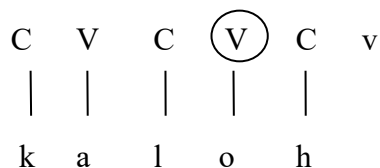
Consequently, strict CV enables us to generalize about unmarked final stress in words ending with a consonant, and unmarked prefinal stress, in words with an open final syllable, producing one and the same generalization – in both cases the stress falls on the penultimate V position.

The marked cases, oxytons ending in a vowel, need to be marked as unpredictable lexical stress (these have to be marked as exceptions in other theories as well).

(11)   Portuguese oxyton *abacaxi* [abaka'ʃi] 'pineapple' in CVCV (marked)

```
c    V    C    V    C    V    C   (V)
|    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
     a    b    a    k    a    ʃ    i
```
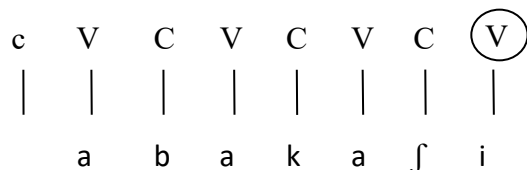
Finally, I have to account for proparoxytons, or words accented in the third from last syllable. As these escape standard stress, they should be stressed on the lexical level as well:

(12) Portuguese proparoxyton *música* ['muzika] 'music' in CVCV

```
C   (V)   C   V   C   V
|    |    |   |   |   |
m    u    z   i   k   a
```
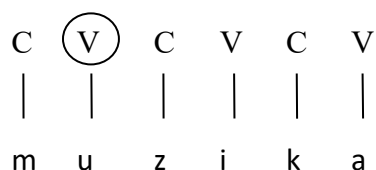
4. CONCLUSION. To summarize, having presented the word stress system of BP, I have developed a new approach within the framework of CVCV theory. This phonological theory, which allows for empty syllabic positions, enables me to make a generalization about unmarked word stress in Portuguese: the unmarked stress pattern of non-verbs falls on the penultimate vocalic position of the word. Words that are exceptions to this main generalization might have word stress marked in the lexicon as exceptions and are not given stress using any algorithm.

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CONTENTS

THE POWER OF BORROWING: ENGLISH LOAN WORDS IN PERSIAN

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Abstract. In this paper we investigate the use of English loan words in the Persian language (Farsi)., both in formal and in casual settings. By looking at the different contexts in which borrowing occurs, our target is to establish the domains of people's lives in which borrowings are mostly used. Based on the present available literature and the data gathered from a corpus of Persian websites and from conversations with Persians both in Iran and in Canada, we try to indicate whether the influence of the English loan words could point to a social change in Iran. Since the revolution of 1979, there has been a deep rift between Iran and the U.S. as the so-called enemy. It's interesting to see that, despite this division, there are many examples of English borrowings in the language use of the new generation of Persians. Although languages are always influenced by other languages, the issue of linguistic purism has been both a great academic concern for linguists and a political concern for the governors of Iran. Even though Farsi is a rich language, the data shows the extensive use of the new English loan words in the generation that grew up after the revolution. In his novel *1984*, Orwell (1963) suggested that political systems that want to control the thoughts of people could do this by controlling the language used and stripping it of all synonyms and additional shades of meaning. This paper tries to examine whether the American pop culture is more influential than the political boundaries of thought control in Iran.

Key Words: Borrowing, loan words, lexical addition, culture, revolution.
Languages: Farsi, Persian, English.

1. INTRODUCTION. A LANGUAGE BOTH REFLECTS AND SHAPES THE SOCIAL reality of those who speak it. According to Searle (1995) words and other signs are partly constitutive of the facts out of which our reality is composed. Complex social institutions and structures cannot exist without language and therefore the choice of language used for their establishment, description and functioning will influence the outcome of the process.

This power of language is readily recognized by all political systems. However, in a democracy, the right to define meanings and social phenomena is less restricted than in a system where only political elites determine what concepts can be used and what meanings may be

attributed to them. Stuart Hall (1974) identifies *primary definers* of meanings as the authorities (politicians, scientists, experts) who determine ideologies or who are approached for insights into issues. Even though they may try to be impartial, they frame those issues by the very way they discuss them. The choice of words offered by the experts and spread by the media (the so called *secondary definers* according to Hall) shapes the impressions and understanding of social reality by the audience. In political systems with a tight control of what can be discussed and how, the very choice of words that are available in public discourse can be subject to government censorship. As George Orwell suggested in his dystopian novel *1984* (1949), those in power may want to believe that if there are no words to describe concepts and think about ideas that the regime considers undesirable, the very thoughts may become unthinkable. The purpose of Newspeak developed in Orwell's *1984* "was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible. It was intended that when Newspeak had been adopted once and for all and Oldspeak forgotten, a heretical thought (…) should be literally unthinkable, at least so far as thought is dependent on words" (Orwell 1949: 174).

Many regimes have tried to control language for political purposes (cf. Stroińska 2002). Today's Iran is an Islamic republic where the Leader of the Revolution, referred to as "Supreme Leader" defines and oversees policies to make sure that they stay in line with the principles of the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Thus, part of his duties is to protect the people from "heretical thoughts" that could interfere with the functioning of the state. While Iran is now actively developing international relationships, there are still no diplomatic ties to the United States and one of the fundamental principles of Iran's foreign policy has been to limit foreign influence in the region. Such influence can be exercised in many ways and one method of limiting the influx of ideas from outside is by controlling the language used by public media. While access to internet was allowed in Iran in 1993, what books or films may be distributed in the country is still determined by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, popularly known as Ershad.

In this paper, we look at the language used by the official media in Iran in compliance with the directives of Ershad and compare it to the language used in on-line communication, where government control is relatively limited. We are particularly interested in the usage of terms, words and entire phrases borrowed from, mostly American, English, which is still seen as the language of the political and ideological enemy of Iran. In doing this, we are curious whether the opposite of Orwell's thesis could apply: could new ideas invisibly infiltrate a closed-off political system through borrowing of foreign words.

2. Review of Literature. Linguistic research on languages in contact goes back to the 19th century. However, linguists always had interest in how languages influenced each other, as shown by complex etymologies. A more systematic study of lexical and grammatical *interference* (a term introduced by Weireich, 1953) started in the 20th century. Initially, research naturally focused on *lexical borrowing* (cf. Haugen, 1953). A loan word can be defined as a word that, sometime in the history of a language, "entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing" (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009: 36). Lexical borrowing or *importation* (according to Capuz, 1997), considered the most common type of borrowing, involves a number of different factors. One of the main factors is the social status and political influence of the language from which the words are borrowed. Hockett (1958) points to *prestige* and *need-filling* as two main motives for borrowing.

In 1936, Werner Betz conducted a comprehensive study on types of lexical borrowing by analyzing the influence of Latin on German vocabulary (Betz, 1936, see also Onysko, 2007). Based on Saussure's recognition of the arbitrary relationship between the signifier and the signified, Betz pointed out that while different signs in different languages may convey the same

or similar meaning, a name of an object borrowed from another language must take on an independent existence in the respective recipient culture. The stimulus for naming is thus provided in the context of each language. As a result of language contact, borrowing, which is a culturally influenced process, occurs when the same form is used in two or more different languages to represent the same or similar meanings. Examples of this can be found in the form of anglicisms in German, with borrowing of words not only from the fields of computer-technology (words such as *Internet*, *Computer*, *online*, *Web*, *high-tech*, etc.; with nouns spelled with a capital letter according to German spelling conventions), but also in other non-technology related fields (e.g. *cool*, *Image*, *Stress*, etc.) (Onysko, 2007). In situations of cultural contact, the direction and extent of lexical borrowing are usually affected by changes in social, political and psychological conditions of a speech community (Modarresi, 1993).

In multilingual contexts, lexical borrowing overlaps with the occurrences of code switching. Borrowing, a lexical process that is usually accompanied by morphological and phonological adaptation, is forming part of the lexicon of the recipient language that imports the word. Code switching, on the other hand, only uses the embedded language's lexicon (Clyne, 1987). Sebba et al. mention that the phenomenon of codes witching in written language is a completely different process from lexical borrowing (Sebba, Mahootian, & Jonsson, 2012). Muysken (2000) distinguishes between simple *insertion* of foreign words, *alternation* between terms in two languages (code-switching), and *congruent lexicalization* when borrowed words are adapted to spelling and pronunciation conventions of the recipient language.

Loan words, according to Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011), can be classified as either a necessity or a luxury or, to avoid being judgmental, as either catachrestic or non-catachrestic. Catachrestic loan words are imported to name new concepts or objects while non-catachrestic loans provide new names for ideas or objects that already have been named in the recipient language. Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) based their study on Levinson's (2000) theory of presumptive meanings. Levinson believes that some "anglicisms in German (e.g. *E-Mail*, *Computer*, and *Internet*) mainly bear I[nformativeness]-implicatures (whereas borrowings such as *cool*, *Kids*, and *Airport,* evoke M[anner]-implicatures as marked lexical choices" (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011: 1550). In the aforementioned study, they investigate how a borrowing can be considered as a default label for new concepts or as a stylistically marked choice related to already established terms. Analyzing the results of an empirical study of one hundred highly frequent anglicisms in German, they found that almost two thirds of these anglicisms were non-catachrestic loans (luxury borrowings for concepts or things that already had German names). They concluded that "the majority of anglicisms in German tend to be used as pragmatically marked lexical choices" (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011: 1563).

Lexical borrowing may have several stylistic and pragmatic effects. Galinsky (1967) categorizes the functions of anglicisms in German as following: "(1) providing national American color of settings, actions, and characters, (2) establishing or enhancing precision, (3) offering or facilitating intentional disguise, (4) effecting brevity to the point of terseness, (5) producing vividness, often by way of metaphor, (6) conveying tone, its gamut ranging from humorous playfulness to sneering parody on America and 'Americanized' Germany, (7) creating or increasing variation of expression" (Galinsky, 1967:71).

The above-mentioned effects of borrowing may be associated with some of the concerns of *language purism,* which could be described as

"the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to

preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard languages (Thomas, 1991: 12).

Thus, purism is often associated with nationalism and consequently also with protecting a national language with the goal of helping to secure the national identity (Thomas, 1991: 43). Based on the same premise, the very fact of importing foreign words might divide the speech community, whereas protecting the domestic words can keep a nation united (53). Also, considering the prestige function of a language, foreign influences on a native language can result in the loss of a language-based identity (55).

3. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN IRAN. Iran is a country that, over many centuries of its existence, has been in cultural and sociopolitical contact with many different cultures. Before the Christian era, Iran had conducted numerous wars with the Greeks (4th century BC). After the Arab conquest of Iran in the 7th century AD, Islam replaced Zoroastrianism and became accepted as the new religion, thus creating many opportunities for cultural, religious and linguistic contacts with Muslim Arabs (Modarresi, 1993).

In the 13th century, with the invasion of the Mongols and their often Turkish soldiers, many Mongolian and Turkish loan words found their way into Persian. Starting in the early 19th century, Iran was strongly influenced by science and technology of three large countries: Tsarist Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and India. These influences brought in many loan words related to the military, food, and later the automobile industry, as well as many general usage words from the respective languages. Examples include *mãsin* ('car') or *kãlbãs* ('sausage') from Russian, and *nazmiyye* ('police station') from Turkish. The most important movement towards purism and against foreign linguistic influence around this time in history was represented by a group of Iranian scholars, mostly anti-British nationalists, who aimed at creating a new spiritual domain of non-Islamic, Iranian foundations of a unified language and culture, rooted in pre-Islamic times (Kia, 1998; Modarresi, 1993; and Sadeghi, 2001).

In the late 19th and early 20th century, Iran developed relationships with industrial European countries and Persian borrowed many loanwords from European languages, in particular from French. After World War II and up to the late 1970s, along with modernization and westernization of the country, a strong relationship between Iran and the United States developed and, as a result of that, the American way of life and, consequently, also many new English loan words were imported into Persian. Gradually, some of these English words replaced the older French loan words (Modarresi, 1993).

4. CONTACT LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN IRAN. There is a large body of research addressing loan words in many different languages, but there are not many studies on the loan words in Farsi, especially those describing the last four decades, that is the period after the 1979 Islamic Revolution of Iran. After the Islamic Revolution, international relationships of Iran were restricted due to political changes in the country. A strong push towards linguistic purism in Iran came with the establishment of the Academy of Persian Language and Literature (founded in 1989). One of the mandates of the Academy was to find and promote Persian equivalents for words entering from English and other languages and to encourage Persians to write and speak in pure Farsi, without

mixing in words from any other language.

The Islamic revolution of Iran, with its famous claim of following "neither East nor West", increased anti-Western feelings within many segments of the Iranian society, especially within the first few years that followed the events of 1979. Modarresi (1993) mentions that in those years, "unnecessary" foreign words were not allowed to enter the language of communication and therefore there was a decrease of usage of words like *project*, *modern*, *serve*, and *shift*, and an increase in their native Persian (or Arabic) equivalents like "/tærh/, /now/ or /dʒædiːd/, /pæziːrɒːjiː/ and /nowbæt/" (Modarresi, 1993:94).

Although in the first few years after the revolution many Iranians were excited about the changes promised by the new government, it did not take long for them to start feeling disappointed by the new Islamic regime. With time, this disappointment began to translate into a change of attitude towards the United States, from 'the old enemy', as pictured by the government, to a popular high-status friend among young Iranians who were the generation born after the Islamic Revolution. This transformation was primarily related to the US' international dominance in popular culture and its glamorous style of life, as depicted in popular Hollywood movies. In the past ten or fifteen years, many young Iranians immigrated to North America and particularly to the US, and this too contributed to the erosion of the image of the US as an enemy. Based on our observations, we believe that in the past two decades there was a noticeable and surprising shift towards decreasing the usage of Arabic loan words and increasing borrowings from English, especially American English. The high frequency of English loan words and conversational phrases in spoken and written Persian today can be explained by the issue of linguistic prestige. It also seems that the pace at which these loans are entering Persian is so high that the Academy of Persian Language and Literature simply cannot keep up finding native equivalents for these new words.

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1. DATA COLLECTION. In order to investigate the active use of loan words among the young generation of Persians in Iran, we analyzed written data from two online Instagram magazines, as well as Facebook posts, and then compared this data with written texts in a government newspaper published in Iran.

For this purpose, 25 photos from *Life20* online Instagram magazine and 25 photos from *Zhuaan* online Instagram magazine were randomly selected. These online magazines are accessible in the public domain and hence no ethics clearence was needed for collecting the data. In *Life20*, there were on average 300 words and icons under each photo. In *Zhuaan*, there were approximately 400 words and icons under each photo. For the Facebooks data, 50 posts were selected from Facebook pages accessibly for one of the authors and the names of people who wrote the comments were deleted from the data. There were approximately 35 words and icons under each of these posts.

This data was compared with the written texts found under 50 online newspaper headlines. There were approximately 350 words under each of these newspaper headings. The newspaper from which we gathered this part of the data was a publication of Mehr News Agency, a well-known provider of information in Iran. Mehr News Agency (MNA) was established in Tehran in 2003 and it is owned by the Islamic Ideology Dissemination Organization (IIDO).

5.2. DATA ANALYSIS. The analysis was based on three different aspects of the data collected:

structural, *semantic*, and *morphological*. In terms of the structural classification, we divided the data based on whether the English loan words and phrases were written in Latin alphabet (e.g. 'Wow!', 'We've got to try this!') or whether the English words and phrases were written in Farsi orthography (خوب لیو این تهران اگه یو لاو تهران : If **you love** Tehran, **live in** Tehran).

For the purpose of semantic classification, the loan words were divided into three categories: words related to the use of computers or the Internet (e.g. 'page', 'follow', 'admin', etc.), words not related to computer technology, (e.g. 'music', 'gay', 'fashion', etc.), and conversational phrases (e.g. 'Why not?', 'We've got to try this!', etc.).

In the morphological analysis, we looked at the inflectional and derivational elements in loan words. Since Farsi is a synthetic language, we expected to see e.g. inflection for agreement in loan words. We were also interested to see whether borrowed words were morphologically simple or complex, i.e. whether words with derivational affixes or compounds were borrowed or not.

After analyzing the data, we calculated the percentage of English loan words in the Facebook and Instagram data, and we compared this number with the percentage of loan words found in the headlines of a governmental newspaper to see if the frequency of loan words differed between the actual conversations happening among young Persians and the preferred form of the language being used by the government. While we expected to see many borrowings from English in online conversations, we were not prepared for the diversity of linguistics phenomena that we have found in the data.

6. DATA. In this section, we present and discuss examples of the English loan words found in the data collected from online sources and from the government newspaper. For the purpose of illustration, we selected texts found under three photos from each of the Instagram magazines, followed by texts found under three Facebook posts. These texts and posts were selected randomly but are representative for the data collected. We then discuss examples of the texts published in the online edition of a government newspaper. Here, we selected a headline that actually shows the use of English loan words. The loan words found in the data are then categorized in tables that are presented in the result section of this paper. The English loan words, which are written in either Latin alphabet or Farsi orthography, are bolded in both the original and in the English translation. We did not provide English glosses aligned with the original because of the technical difficulty: Persian is written from right to left and so glosses would either need to follow this word order with a standard word order translation added. As we concentrated on lexical borrowings, we felt that providing a translation would be sufficient for the reader to understand the examples. We do not provide translations for entries written fully in English. The spelling has been left in the original form. All English translations were done by one of the authors of this paper (Narcisse Torshizi) who is a native Farsi speaker.

6.1. EXAMPLES OF INSTAGRAM DATA FROM LIFE20 ONLINE MAGAZINE. *Life20* is an Instagram Magazine for Farsi and English readers. It has over 33 thousand followers. The following examples illustrate the amazing variety of linguistic means used by the young Iranians. We find here statements in both Persian and in English and in two scripts, Latin and Farsi. This means that there are statements in Persian written in the Latin alphabet (e.g. in 6.1.1. line 6) and statements in English, including complete sentences, written in Farsi script (as in 6.1.2. line 10). The result is a somewhat overwhelming mixture of languages and alphabets, lively and witty, clearly defying any attempts at categorization.

6.1.1.
1. **Wooooooow**...Khylii khafann ['**Wow!** This is awesome!']
2. In **video** k gozashti k **tiral** nist ['The **video** you posted is not a **trial**.' – spelling error ('tiral') in the original]
3. چشم ['Sure!']
4. ااااای اوا!قلبم!! ['Awww! My heart!']
5. داره جوني چه دوچرخه اون...كنار به خودش مهارت*!*['*Apart from the rider's skills, that bicycle should be a great one!'*]
6. Ajab chize toooppppiiiii! ['What an amazing photo!']
7. عزیز دوست همینه ها **سایت** تو فیلم توضیح ولی نیست وارد **ادمین** ['**Admin** doesn't know that, but the description of this video is the same on the web**sites**, my dear friend!']
8. **Perfect!**
9. Chera ba ehsasate is javun bazi mikoni az khoda betars dokhtar ['Why are you playing with this young man's emotions? You should be afraid of God's punishment, girl!']
10. والا میشه پنچر میرم اسفالت رو دوچرخم با من ['Honestly, even when I ride my bike on a flat ground, I get a flat tire!']
11. Yadesh b kheirrrr ['Good old days!']

6.1.2.
1. In zane!?fk kardam hamjensbazan!! ['Is this a woman?! I thought they are gay!']
   كج دهن **ایكون** ، يجوريه آيا؟ خانومه ['Is this a woman? There is something about her! Confused face **icon**!']
2. میگیره خندش میكنه تصور وقتی آدم.....جالب چه ['Interesting! It's funny when you imagine it!']
3. Shabihe kie? ['who does she look like?']
4. **Gaye?**!! ['Is he **gay**?']
5. نیست؟ ه قیمیشی سياوش اینكه ['This is Siavash Ghomeyshi! Isn't he?']
6. Bazia dge kheili partan ke John Lennon ro nemishnasan ['Some people are really illiterate not even knowing who John Lennon is!']
7. مرده چيپه سمته كردم فكر خوندن متن از قبل خدايی: ['I swear to God that before reading the text I thought the person on the left is a man!']
8. هستن **گی** فكركردم!!!!زنه اون ['Is this a woman? I thought they are **gay**!']
9. Eshgh ina awli bude ['Their love was unique!']
10. وان انلی دی نات آیم بات،دریمر اِ آیم،سی می یو ['**You may say I'm a dreamer but I'm not the only one!**']
11. زنه چيپه ؟ ['Is that a woman on the left?']
12. **Working class hero is something to be**...
13. Geryat nmigyre hamxhin **postaii** mizary aksolamalo **commentaye** ahmaghane mibini? Melat bafjur tatilan khodawakili ['Don't you feel like crying when you **post** a photo like this and see these stupid **comments** under it? Seriously?! These people are a bunch of fools!']
14. Asan hichkas nafahmide chymkhay begy bejoz 2,3nafar .karet kheyli sakhte **admin** chon in mlat faghat tataloo mishnasan :))) ['Nobody even got your point except for a few people. You have a difficult job **admin**! These people only know Tattalloo!']

6.1.3.

1. کیفیت **فول اچ دی** [‘**full HD** quality’]
2. **Freake** [‘She is a **freak**’]
3. **Psychedelic** ham bude [‘She is also a **psychedelic**’]
4. **This is AWESOME**
5. باحال بوده ها [‘She is cool, Eh!’]
6. آدم میترسه بابا [‘This is scary’]
7. Sabkesham **heavy metale** [‘Her style is **Heavy metal**’]
8. Che jaleb!!! [‘Interesting!’]
9. **Yaaaap boy**
10. **Wow**
11. **oh shit** khosham omad [‘**Oh shit**! I liked it!’]
12. Bebin che **psycho** boode [‘What a **psycho** she was!’]

6.2. EXAMPLES OF INSTAGRAM DATA FROM ZHUAAN ONLINE MAGAZINE
Zhuaan is an Instagram Art Magazine for Farsi and English readers with close to one million followers. The examples are not significantly different than those found in *Life20*. We can see several entries that are written completely in English, many consisting of single words or ready-made phrases, such as ‘exactly’, ‘yes’ or ‘agree’.

6.2.1

1. **caption** ro bkhon [‘Read the **caption**’]
2. متنتون زیبا [‘Your text is beautiful’]
3. jun be laaab shodam khooob [‘I’m fed up!’]
4. کسی که باید باشد...نباشد. [‘I wish he/she who should be here with me, never even existed!’]
5. Be lab reside [‘Fed Up!’]
6. Nisti khanooomi!!! [‘Aren’t you there, my lady?’]
7. همین [‘Exactly!’]
8. hamin alannnn [‘Just now!’]
9. **تکست** زیرش قشنگ خواهرته [‘The **text** under the photo sounds exactly like your sister’]
10. Mimiriiii mifamiiii mimiriii [‘you’ll die! Do you understand? You’ll die!’]
11. Mordaaaammmm [‘I died!’]
12. **Big like**
13. با اجازه متنتونو **کپی** کدریم. [‘I **copied** your text if that would be fine with you.’]
14. janam in **page** ro **follow** kon Please [‘Babe, please **follow** this **page**!’]
15. قربون نوشته هات [‘I adore your writings!’]
16. esme nevisandasho bebin,azzzzizam [‘See the writer’s name, darling!’]
17. آنکس خیلی بیشعور است [‘That person is stupid!’]
18. vaghean Jan b lab mresad [‘It is really frustrating!’]
19. **yeeeessss exaaaactly**!

6.2.2

1. براي **دانلود ارشیو** ماه اردیبهشت تقویم ۹٤ و **استیکرهاي** ژوان براي تلگرام به **وبسایتمون** سر بزنید .
    [‘Check our **website** for **download**ing Zhuaan’s **archives** and **stickers** of May, 1394 SH.]
2. bia pas dars nakhunim, khosh begzarunim *[‘So, let’s not study and have fun’]*

3. واقعاً! ولی شجاعت میخواد *['It really needs courage though!']*
4. **agree. But that's too hard**
5. **Exactly**
6. سلام دوست عزیزمیشه اسم طراحتون روبگین وایا صفحه ای دارن؟ *['Hi fellow! May I know who your web designer is?And do they have a page'?]*
7. وبسایتتون باز نمیشه *['Your **website** can't be opened!']*
8. قشنگه دوستم *['It's beautiful, my friend!']*
9. چی شده *['What's wrong?']*
10. نمیدونم خودم؛اینو دیدم یادت افتادم *['I myself don't know! I saw this and it reminded me of you!']*

6.2.3.

1. Payehaye divine baziaye man *['You are always up for the crazy things I do!']*
2. khkhk **love uuuuu**
3. Vaaay *['Awww!']*
4. Uhom ?? [What??]
5. منشن ات یه حس خییییلی خوبی بم داد😊واااااای دقیقا *['**Awwww! Exactly! It felt really good when you mention**ed me!']*
6. به زرس قاطع گفتی ما دیوانه ایم؟؟؟؟ خخخخخخخ *['You positively said we are crazy????']*
7. **This goes to you** aziz *['**This goes to you**, dear!']*
8. Alan Man Payeam?!?! *['So, did you say it is me who is always up for everything?!?!']*
9. **Haha it should go to Terry**.
10. یسسسس *['Yes!']*
11. **yess**
12. قلبونت شم *['I wanna die for you!']*
13. Kamelan dorodte *['That's absolutely right!']*
14. eshghe mani *['You are my love!']*
15. khkhkhkh are daghighan *['Yes! Exactly!']*
16. **You need someone that's always keen on fooling around with you. Why are we so far apart :(**
17. Mesle mano tooo *['Like me and you!']*

6.3. EXAMPLES OF FACEBOOK DATA
In this data set, we find more words spelled with repeated letters to convey strong emphasis: e.g. 'Niiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiceee.....' There are also many short, often one-word responses and conversational phrases such as 'I know, I know', 'miss you too' or 'your welcome' (spelling error often made also by young English native-speakers). Example 6.3.3 includes three occurences of the word *merci*, a borrowing from French, spelled 'mercccc' or 'merccccccccccc'. There are also many emoticons, again with multiple repatitions, as in: ':))))))))) i know, i know' in 6.3.3. It is worth noting that emphasis by letter repetition is also found in Farsi words spelled in Latin alphabet. There are very few instances of repeated letters in Farsi script. An example of this can be seen in 6.2.3 line 5 and 6.3.3 line 13.

6.3.1.
1. **Missed you guys already**
2. **Miss you too**

3. Going home

4. همچنان خوش بگذرونین ولی زود برگردین.دلتنگتونیم [*'Continue having fun, but come back soon. We missed you!'*]

5. Your welcome.

6. Akhey. Jatoon kheyli khaleie [*'Aaahhh! You are missed here!'*]

7. Koja miriiiiiiin [*'Where are you going?'*]

8. خیلي ممنون از همتون [*'Thank you all very much!'*]

9. Akh jooooooooooooon [*'Great!'*]

10.خدا به همراهت [*'May God protect you'*]

6.3.2.

1. **nice**

2. **like**

3. Haji dge vaghtesheha....bariiikeela ['It's time, Bro! Good job!']

4. peff mashalla ['Great!']

5. very nice pic

6. مهندس چه **سکسی** شدی ['You look so **sexy**, Mr. Engineer!']

7. **Like** dari ['You deserve a **like**!']

6.3.3.

1. اووووف. خیلی خوبه خیلی ['Oh oh! This is so good!']

2. مرسی عزیزممم ['Thanks, darling!']

3. Jon axet kheiliiiiiiii ghashange ['Nice! your photo is very beautiful!']

4. Merccc azizam ['Thanks, darling!']

5. **نایس و گود** [Nice and good]

6. Khosham miad azaaaaaat! [*'I like you!'*]

7. :))) aziiiizaaaam manam hamintor ghashang jan [*'Darling! Me too, pretty!'*]

8. چه قدر خوش رنگ و دل باز [*'Beautiful and happy colors!'*]

9. مرسی عزیز دلم [*'Thanks my sweetheart'*]

10. عکست خیلی باحاله [*'Your photo is so cool!'*]

11. سه تا گلدون با یه موازنه خاص! یه حس خوب داره.رنگاشم عالیه.. [*'Three flower pots with a special harmony! They have a good vibe!'*]

12. قربونندون: دی [*'Thanks!'*]

13. ||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||چووووو زیبااا [*'So beautiful!'*]

14. **Likeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee!!!!!** Che dooste khoshgeli daram tu friendaammm (**if u know why I used this compliment**) [***'Like**! What a beautiful friend I have among all my friends!'*]

15. :)))))))) **i know, i know**

16. :))))) merccccccccccc [*'Thanks'*]

17. Barikala [*'Good job!'*]

18. قربونندون [*'Thank you!'*]

19. Koli hese zendegi dare tosh [*'There are a lot of life vibes in it.'*]

20. **wow** kheili axet kharejio khobe k! [***'Wow!** Your photo is so beautiful and it looks like one of those nice foreign photos!'*]

21. **Niiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiceee**.....

22. Merrrccc kharejiat az khotoone :)) [*'Thanks! Beauty is in the eye of the beholder!'*]

23. Merccccc [*'Thanks!'*]

24.خیلیییییی ['*I missed you so much! So much!*'] خیلی دلم برات تنگ شده

6.4. EXAMPLES OF MNA NEWSPAPER HEADLINES. For the purpose of comparison, we collected a small corpus of texts from an official government news provider, the Mehr News Agency (MNA) available online at http://www.mehrnews.com. The corpus consisted of just over 10,000 words collected from short entries found under 50 newspaper headlines. The publication consists of several sections that cover fields such as Culture, Art and Literature, Religion and Thought, Social, Economic and Political Affairs, as well as Sports etc. It is available in 6 languages including English and German. Articles were selected at random from various sections of the website. They were published between April and June 2015.

While we would have had problems finding social network posts that made no use of English loan words, we had considerable difficulty finding any posts in MNA that would have any foreign vocabulary items. The majority of texts followed the directives of the Persian Academy of Language and Literature and used exclusively Persian vocabulary. The only foreign elements occasionally used were Arabic loans that referred to the Islamic religion. Below we present one of the very few news items that involved two English loans – 'website' and its clipped version 'site,' each used twice. It is important to note that the newspaper used the borrowed word because the Academy has not yet suggested a Persian equivalent of the English term 'site'. It is likely that this loan word will become an accepted term as it is simply too late to come up with a loan translation or coin a new expression that would find general acceptance and could replace 'website'. There is a suggested equivalent for 'website' (**سایت** اینترنتی = Internet site), but there is no suggested equivalent for 'site'.

6.4.1

از کرمانشاه به نقل از فرمانداری کرمانشاه، نخستین **سایت** تاب‌آوری روانشناختی کشور به گزارش خبرگزاری فارس توسط فرماندار کرمانشاه رونمایی شد و این پایگاه **اینترنتی** رسما فعالیت خود را آغاز کرد.

['According to Fars news agency in Kermanshah quoted the governor of Kermanshah, The city's governor unveiled the country's first **site** of the psychological resilience and this **internet website** has officially launched its activities.']

فرماندار کرمانشاه در این مراسم که با حضور تنی چند از اساتید دانشگاه، فعالان عرصه پیشگیری و مبارزه با مواد مخدر و کارشناسان حوزه مختلف سلامت روان حضور داشتند، اظهار کرد: تاب‌آوری از آن دسته مفاهیمی است که متضمن سلامت روانی و پویایی و امید در جامع است.

['At this ceremony, which was attended by a number of academicians, activists, and anti-drug and mental health experts, the governor of Kermanshah said that resilience is one of those concepts that promises mental health, dynamism, and hope in the society.']

فضل‌الله رنجبر گفت: فرمانداری کرمانشاه در راستای جلب روزافزون مشارکت‌ها و فعالیت‌های مردمی در حوزه سلامت و پیشگیری از آسیب‌های اجتماعی عزم جزم دارد.

['Fazlallah Ranjbar said the governor of Kermanshah is determined to increase the community

activities and contributions in the field of health and prevention of social damages.’]

مدیر و مؤسس این سایت با اشاره به چگونگی فعالیت‌ها و برنامه‌های آتی نخستین **وبسایت** تاب‌آوری کشور، هدف از تشکیل این **سایت** را کمک به بهبود ارتقاء سلامت اجتماعی عنوان کرد

[‘Director and founder of the site, with reference to the activities and future plans of this **website**, mentioned that the purpose of this **site** is to help to improve the public health promotion.’]

7. RESULTS. The number of English loan words found in the Facebook and Instagram data was significantly higher as compared to the number of English words from the newspaper headlines data. This difference not only reflects the fact that newspaper language is heavily politicized and focused on the affairs of the state but also that it is far away from the daily practice of language, especially among the young generation. While it is difficult to tell whether the two Instagram magazines that we looked at are subject to any form of state censorship, the texts posted there seem to reflect everyday language use better than dry and official sounding texts published by the MNA, which is closely monitored by the government.

The following **Table 1**. shows the number of occurrences of English words as compared to the total number of words in our data. Please note that we counted all word-forms that were considered English, both in the Latin and in the Farsi alphabet.

Table 1. English words used in on-line communication as compared to official media.

Source of data	Total number of words	Number of loan words	Percentage
Facebook and Instagram	12,250	1086	8.86
Newspaper headlines	10,041	9	0.01

The number of loan words reported includes all occurences of borrowed terms rather than the number of different words. As mentioned above, we included phrases and full sentences written completely in English in either the Farsi or the Latin alphabet. These expressions included many function words that were counted but we do not consider them as potential loan words. They were used because complete sentences were written by users but only content words may be considered as candidates for borrowing into Persian. Borrowed conversational phrases will be analysed as units in their own right. We discuss them in section 7.2.1. below.

7.1. DIVISION OF DATA

7.1.1 STRUCTURAL DIVISION: ALPHABETS USED. Persian is written using Farsi script, an alphabet developed on the basis of Arabic but with the addition of four characters specific to Persian. This script was introduced in the 9th century to replace the Pahlavi script originally used for the Persian language. Like Arabic, Persian is written from right to left which is why the sentence examples in this paper are right aligned and why we decided not to write glosses underneath Persian sentences. Persian characters have different shapes depending on their position in words. Short vowels are not represented in writing, long vowels are represented through a variety of other means. There

are 32 basic characters but some of them are distinguished by the addition of diacritics. To type in Persian on the computer, users switch to the Persian keyboard. Using Persian online is therefore not significantly more difficult than using the Latin alphabet.

The results of our structural analysis show that loan words are written both in Farsi orthography and in Latin alphabet. Out of the 1086 total loan words, 247 words were written in Farsi orthography and 839 were written in Latin alphabet; 212 words were related to computer/internet and 874 words were not related to computer/internet.

7.2. SEMANTIC DIVISION. The spread of computer technology makes it easy for people all over the world to learn and use English computer terminology. Perhaps the most important reason is the fact that software is often sold in its original version, without the so-called localization that would adapt the software to the language of the target country. People who first learn to use computers with English language software may then feel more comfortable continuing to use it in that version even if a translated version becomes available. We decided that we would separate computer and Internet related borrowings from other loan words as this type of vocabulary is borrowed from English into many languages worldwide and would not reveal anything particular about the case of Iran.

The following **Table 2** shows the content loan words (with function words excluded) found in our data divided into semantic fields.

Table 2. Loan words by their semantic area of usage

Words Related to Computer/Internet	**Words Not Related to Computer/Internet**
post, icon, admin, page, follow, caption, screen, share, screenshot, selfie, effect, deactive (probably deactivated or deactivated), follow, admin, list, site, post, comment, like, computer, giga, byte, save,analogue, hashtag, search, text, link, download, tag, clips, mention, photoshop, website, blog, profile, copy, monitor, direct	music, fake, gay, communist, terrorist, term, size, tee-shirt, project, nostalgia, fashion, designer, collection, model, zombie, stickers, archive, yes, food, love, cover, surprise, sweatshirt, joke, honey, relax, sexy, wow, trial, perfect, thanks, pineapple, lol, give up, shit, freak, psycho, nice, agree, OK, cute, reunion, desk, exactly, code, think, check, different, forever, oops, style, gorgeous

While the use of Internet and computer technology in general makes the borrowing of English IT terminology quite natural in many languages of the world, Table 2 shows that many loan words are not related to computer/Internet. While we classified 38 words as computer/Internet related, we found 53 loan words that were not related to technology. If the technology terms borrowed could be considered necessary loans (they refer to concepts introduced into the culture that did not at that time have names for them), most of the non-IT words must be seen as luxury loans. They do not replace everyday Persian terms but seem to offer stylistically marked, "cool" and

fashionable ways of asserting one's identity as a member of an in-group: those who are open to what is going on in the world in general and in the US in particular.

There are numerous loan words related to popular culture and fashion, such as: 'music', 'size', 'tee-shirt', 'fashion', 'designer', 'collection', 'model', 'sweatshirt' or 'style'. While they all have equivalents in Persian, using them in English may give the speaker some air of sophistication. There are also words that seem to be lifestyle related, often used as responses to other posts: 'fake', 'zombie', 'love', 'surprise', 'joke', 'honey', 'relax', 'sexy', 'perfect', 'thanks', 'shit', 'freak', 'psycho', 'nice', 'agree', 'cute', 'reunion', 'exactly', 'forever' or 'gorgeous'. A number of words may be seen as related to more general social issues: 'gay', 'communist', 'terrorist', 'project', 'nostalgia.' It would be interesting to conduct a more in-depth study to gain a better insight into the types of vocabulary in the non-IT category. In some cultures, foreign words are borrowed to describe sexual minorities either because they are perceived as culturally foreign phenomena or because the local language does not have neutral everyday terms to refer to the members of such minorities. However, Example 6.1.2 uses the word 'gay' both in English and in Persian spelled in Latin alphabet ('fk kardam hamjensbazn' which translates as 'I thought they are gay!') and in Farsi alphabet (هستن فکرکردم گی اون زنه!!!!) which translates as 'Is this a woman? I thought they are gay!').

We also observed a surprising use of English interjections (e.g. 'lol', 'wow' or 'OK') and conversational phrases. The use of English interjections instead of their native equivalents gives the impression that the speaker engages on a regular basis with various English language media, most likely films, video games, comic books, and social networks where such expressions would be used.

7.2.1. CONVERSATIONAL PHRASES. We have found many conversational phrases used in the data collected. They are most often sentence equivalents even though they rarely have a proper sentence structure with both subject and predicate. There are a few exceptions though, such as 'You're welcome!', 'That's totally me!' or 'We've got to try this!' Many have missing subjects, which is the way they are used in English informal exchanges, e.g. 'Love it!', 'Miss all of you!', 'Miss you!', 'Must be kidding me!'. In some cases, both the subject and the copula verb are eliminated as in '[I was] Just joking!' or '[I am] Thinking of you!'.

Other phrases used have a formulaic character. They can be seen as ready-made reactions to almost any situation. To praise something in an informal conversation, users can say practically any of the following phrases: 'Awesome!', 'Super!', 'Love it!', 'Big like!', 'So good!', 'Great job!', 'Thanks!', 'Damn true!', 'F***ing true!', 'Hell ya!', 'Nice!', 'True!', 'Of course!' or 'Oh my goodness!' There were fewer negative expressions, such as 'F***k it!' Most surprising was the expression 'Jesus Christ!' that could signify surprise, either positive or negative.

The use of entire English phrases as building blocks of online conversations indicates familiarity with spoken informal English and with English used online, including interjections such as 'lol!'. The fact that English words are often spelled with Farsi characters may have been caused by either insecurity about the correct spelling, the way Canadian students often write *per say* instead of *per se*. Another possible reason may be a desire to distance oneself from the foreign language while still appropriating foreign lexical material. This is not uncommon in the process of borrowing between languages. Thus, Polish uses forms such as 'fejs' for Facebook or 'hejt' for 'hate' as in 'hate speech', even in the official media. Using native spelling indicates a level of acceptance of a term, making it the linguistic possession of the target language by bending it to the rules of native orthography. While the reasons behind such processes are of interest for linguists, the existence of this phenomenon simply points to a relatively high level of saturation of modern

Persian with English lexical material.

There is yet another possible explanation. By spelling English messages in Farsi script, the speaker makes it considerably more difficult for the potential censor to flag posts that may be saying something unorthodox, thus allowing the users to function undetected by the radar of the authorities.

7.3 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS. A morphological analysis of our data demonstrates that English loan words are frequently inflected in Farsi. E.g. in the Farsi sentenceش صفره پیج فالوهای, which translates as 'There are zero follow*s* for ***his/her*** page', the English noun 'follow', spelled in Farsi letters, has a Persian Plural suffix. Then, there is a Persian possessive pronoun inserted in front of the English word 'page', also spelled in Farsi characters. On the other hand, we did not observe many instances of derivations, i.e. there were no English words in our data that had Farsi derivational morphemes added. We did not observe other word-formation processes performed on the English material either. In some cases, English derived forms were being borrowed, thus resolving the need for derivation. For example, 'screenshot' is a compound noun, and it was borrowed as a unit. 'Admin' is a clipped form of 'administrator' (of a website) and it has been borrowed as a clipping. The popular neologism 'selfie' has also been borrowed as a whole. We have not observed any instances of calques or loan translations in our data, and it would be interesting to look for that type of borrowing as well.

8. CONCLUSION. Our results demonstrate that the use of loan words in modern Persian is not occasional but rather systematic and widespread. We observed from the data collected from on-line sources that modern Iran presents a vibrant scene of lexical borrowings. English loan words are becoming part of the modern Persian lexicon, in particular in informal exchanges online, and inflection of these loan words points to a high level of integration of the new vocabulary. The Academy of Persian Language and Literature seems unable to keep pace with English words entering the Persian language. Although Arabic traditions, especially those related to the practice of Islam are deeply rooted in Iran and are encouraged by the Islamic government of Iran, there were not a lot of Arabic loan words in our data, particularly that taken from Instagram and Facebook posts. Altogether, our results seem to support the impression that American culture is very popular among the generation born after the revolution of 1979 even though the government of Iran still encourages the opposite.

As we were finishing writing this paper in January 2016, the historic agreement between Iran and the US was signed, ending decades of international isolation of the country. Our research puts this isolation in question, showing that the level of lexical borrowing from the United States, the alleged enemy state, was very significant. One may want to ask whether this linguistic infiltration of Persian by English words was also related to Western ideas and worldview being smuggled in. While language is a weapon and words can kill, they may also serve as messengers of new ideas that can then take root in the host language. Should this be the case, language may help prepare ground for a positive societal change, by bringing home new perspectives and opening the possibilities of new types of public discourse.

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ICONIC CASE MARKING OF PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES IN SHOR

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Abstract: We offer a theoretical analysis of case marking of participial clauses in Shor, an under-documented Turkic language. Like many other Turkic languages (e.g. Johanson 1998: 60-61; Gaksel & Kerslake 2005: 358-370), Shor features a system of non-finite participial clauses that function as arguments of the verb in the matrix clause (Zykin 2008). We show that participial clauses in Shor can be marked by possessive suffixes, dative suffixes, lative suffixes, and accusative suffixes. Possessive marking on embedded participial clauses is triggered by copula-less predicates and impersonal reflexives, both of which express the speaker's assessment of the embedded proposition. Accusative marking is triggered by cognition and utterance verbs. Dative and lative marking is triggered by verbs expressing emotional states: dative suffixes are predominantly used for positive emotions and lative suffixes exclusively for negative ones.

We posit that the differential morphological marking on the participial clause is iconic, reflecting the subject's degree of involvement with the propositional content of the embedded clause. The lowest degree of such involvement is coded by manipulation, cognition and utterance verbs with accusative-marked arguments, while the highest degree is coded by modal verbless predicates with possessive-marked arguments. An intermediate degree of the subject's involvement is signaled by verbs of emotion with dative- and lative-marked arguments. The analysis offered here is consistent with Givon's (1980) cross-linguistic prediction that the degree of the subject's involvement correlates with the degree of inter-clausal bondedness.

Languages: Shor, Turkic languages, English.
Key Words: Under-studied languages, participial clauses, iconicity, phonology, morphology, possessive, dative, lative, accusative, syntax.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. SHOR: BACKGROUND. Shor, also known as Kuznets or Kondoma Tartar, is an understudied Northern Turkic language (Ethnologue code: cjs) spoken in Southwestern Siberia by a population of 2840, fifty of whom are monolingual (Ethnologue 2015). As a Turkic language, it has an SOV word order, post-positions, vowel harmony, and a

predominantly agglutinative morphology. A literary tradition in Shor began with the introduction of a Roman alphabet in the 1920s, to be later supplanted by a Cyrillic one a decade later. In the present work, the International Phonetic Alphabet is used in place of the Cyrillic script (or a Romanized version of it).

Prior work on the Shor language has included a descriptive grammar of this language (Dyreknova 1941), a pedagogical grammar (Chispiyakov 1992), and a monograph on Shor morphology (Shentsova 1999). A number of dissertations were defended as of 2011, centering on subordination (Chispiyakov 1973), verbs (Shentsova 1998), and non-finite predicates (Zykin 2008).

1.2. MORPHOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY: SUBORDINATION. Typologically, based on the type of subordination, languages fall into two major categories: non-embedding and nominalizing ones (Givon 2009: 66-73). Non-embedding languages (e.g., Iroquois, Niger-Congo, Athabaskan) do not use any morphological means to code inter-clausal dependency. At the same time, nominalizing languages (e.g., Turkic, Tibeto-Burman, Quechuan, and Uto-Aztecan) make extensive use of nominal morphology to embed a dependent clause into a matrix one. The nominalizing properties of dependent clauses have been well attested for Turkic languages (Johanson 1998: 60-61; Gaksel and Kerslake 2005: 358-370). As a Turkic language, Shor uses a number of nominalizing strategies, which will be examined in the present investigation.

2. DATA. The morphological marking of a participial clause depends on the type of predicate: impersonal reflexives and modal predicates trigger possessive morphology on the participle, cognition and utterance verbs trigger accusative morphology (exclusively), negative emotion predicates trigger lative morphology, and (mostly positive) emotion predicates trigger dative morphology. In what follows, examples of differential case marking are given.

3.1. POSSESSIVE CASE. Possessive allomorphs, found on Shor participles, show the effects of phonologically conditioned alternations: im, ɨm, m, iŋ, ɨŋ, ŋ, zi, zɨ, i, ɨ. Possessive-marked participles are arguments of impersonal reflexives and modal predicates, e.g. *kørin* 'see. REFL', *uɣul* 'hear.REFL', *pildir* 'reveal.REFL'; sample sentences are given in (1) through (6).

(1)   avtomobilʲ tɕol-ba   qaptɕiɣaj kel-tɕitqan-ɨ   kør-(i)n-tɕa
         car   road-INSTR fast   come-PART-3SG   see-REFL-PRES.3SG
          'The car may be seen rapidly approaching.'

(2)   ol kɨs kiʑi-ler-ge   aʂtin qorbaq tɕør-tɕitqan-in   kør-(i)n-da
          She girl man-PL-DAT hungry perfectly go-PART-3SG see-REFL-PAST.3SG.
          'Hungry, she was seen visiting people.'

(3)   avtobus-tar ostanovka-ga kel-tɕitkan-nar   køzynek-teŋ   tɕaqʂɨ
          bus-PL   stop-DAT   come-PART-3PL   window-ABL   well
          kør-(i)n-tɕa
          see-REFL-PRES.3SG.
          'The buses arriving at the stop are well seen from the window.'

(4)   aral arazɨnda pøry-ler uluʂ-tɕitkan-ɨ   uɣul-dɨ
           bush between wolf-PL grow-PART-POSS.3SG hear-PERF.3SG.

'In the bushes was heard the growling of wolves.'

(5)   kiẕ-ler   qol-ba   ṣap-tɕitqan-rɨn   uɣul-ɣan
        man-PL hand-INSTR clap-PART-PL   hear-PAST.
        'The sound of men clapping their hands was heard.'

(6)   itɕe-m   em-de   kibiren-tɕatkan-i   uɣul-dɨ
        mother-POSS. 1SG house-LOC grumble-PART-POSS.3SG hear-PAST.3SG.
        'My mother was heard grumbling at home.'

Modal predicates express the speaker's degree of commitment to the proposition or the speaker's assessment of the proposition with respect to its truth value, desirability, necessity, interest, normalcy and quantity; a sample list of evaluative predicates is given in (7). Examples of participial clauses governed by modal predicates follow in (8) through (18).

(7)   Modal (evaluative) predicates

        tɕakṣi 'good'   ṣin 'true',
        tɕabaI 'bad'   ṣinap 'correct',
        tuza 'useful'   tɕojlaṣ 'untrue',
        kerek 'necessary'   qajde-da 'certain

(8)   ol aara tɕer-ɣe   par-ɣan-i   ṣin
        3SG further land-DAT go-PART-P OSS.3SG true.
        'That s/he went to a far-away land is true/clear.'

(9)   pallar   tɕiṣ tɕoq qal-ɣan-nar-i   ol   ṣin pol-ɣan
        children food absent be.left-PART-POSS.3PL that true be-PAST.3SG.
        'That children were left hungry was true/clear.'

(10)   altɨn tabɨl-tɕiɣan-i   kereq
        Gold be.found-PART-POSS.3SG   important.
        That gold be found is important.

(11)   paṣtap yrɣen-tɕiɣan-i   aqtap nɨŋnaq pol-ɣan
        at.first study-PART-POSS.3SG very easy   be-PAST.3SG.
        'At first it was very easy to study.'

(12)   tɕibraŋ-nar-ɣa   aŋna-r-ɨ   nɨŋnaq ebes pol-ɣan
        gopher-PL-DAT hunt-PART.FUT-POSS.3SG   easy   not be-PAST.3SG.
        'Hunting for gophers would not be easy.'

(13)   tɕabal tɕozaq-tar-ba   kyreṣ-ken-i   aar
        bad   habit-PL-INSTR fight-PART-POSS.3SG difficult.
        'Fighting bad habits would be difficult'.

(14)   kajaɣa ol peede maj   par-ɣan-i,   qɨnnɨɣ   nebe
        Where he so   slowly go-PART-P OSS.3SG interesting thing.
        'Where he went so slowly is interesting.'

(15)   siler-ɣe   pistɨŋ aal køŋny-ge   kir-gen-i   maɣa
        you-DAT   our   village sympathy-DAT come-PART-PO SS.3SG me
        tɕaqṣɨ

pleasant.

'I was glad that you liked our village (lit: your sympathy for our village came).'

(16)   ol   siler-ɣe køŋny-ge   kir-been-i   qajda
        3SG you-DAT sympathy-DAT come-PART.NEG-POSS.3SG somewhat
        paşqatɕil
        strange.
        'That you did not like him/her is somewhat strange.'

(17)   ol qat-ɨ   tarin-ɨb   is-qan-ɨ   qorɣuştiɣ
        he wife-POSS.3SG be.angry-CV ACT-PAST-POSS.3SG frightening
        pol-ɣan
        be-PAST.3SG.
        'The way his wife got angry was frightening.'

(18)   meeŋ yrgyn-ibis-kan-ɨm   alantɕa   maɣat
        My   be.glad-ACT-PAST-POSS.lSG very   much.
        'I became very glad (lit: My becoming glad was very much).'

3.2. ACCUSATIVE CASE. Accusative-marked participles are governed by verbs of cognition and perception, e.g. *pil* 'know', *pøgun* 'think', *kør* 'hear', *uk* 'see', *setki* 'notice', *sura* 'ask', *ses* 'feel', *erbektş* 'tell', *undut* 'forget', *tɕøpteş* 'advise'. They require a human participant in subject position. Accusative allomorphy is phonologically conditioned as well; if the participle stem ends in a vowel, the morpheme takes the form *ni* or *nɨ*; if it ends in a consonant, the morpheme is realized as *in* or *ɨn*. The retraction of the vowel [i] in these allomorphs is conditioned by the preceding vowel in the participle stem. 3.3.

(19)   men ɨlar-ɣa   tɕer-i   sug-im-nɨ,   noo   kerek-ke
        I   they-DAT land-POSS.3SG water-POSS.1SG-ACC which business-DAT
        tɕør-gen-im-ni   erbekte-p per-di-m
        go-PART-POSS. 1SG-ACC tell-CV   AUX-PERF-1SG
        'I have told them about land, water, and for which business I went.'

(20)   uq-qan   kør-gen-im-ni   tygeze   ajt-per-di-m
        hear-PART see-PART-POSS.ISG-ACC fall   say-AUX-PERF-1SG
        'I have told everything I saw and heard.'

(21)   men qajdig-da   aŋ   par-ɨbɨs-qan-ɨn   qajdig-da   quş   tɕør
        I   which-some animal go-ACT-PART-ACC which-some bird   go
        sal-ɣan-ɨn   pil-ip   al-ar-ɨm
        AUX-PART-ACC know-CV AUX-FUT-1SG.
        'I can recognize any animal passing by, or any bird flying by.'

(22)   ulaq- pøry-ler tiş-ter-i   qaɣɨş-tɕitqann-ɨn   uɣ-ip
        ear   wolf-PL tooth-PL-POSS.3SG gnash-PART-ACC hear-CV
        al-dɨ
        AUX-PERF.3SG.
        'he heard the wolves gnashing their teeth.'

(23)   ol kniga-lar-daŋ   pistiŋ tɕer-de-da   paşqa-da tɕer-ler-de   noo
        that book-PL-LAT   our   land-DAT-PT other-PT land-PL-LOC that

> pol-tɕitqan-in   pil-ip   al-dɨ-bɨs
> be-PART-ACC know-CV   AUX-PERF-IPL.
> 'From those books I learn what is going on in our and other lands.'

(24)   ol apʂɨj   at-pa   sug-a   kel-tɕitqan-in   kør-tɕa
       He old.man horse-INSTR water-DAT go-PART-ACC   see-PRES.3SG

       'he sees an old man going to the water on horseback.'

3.4. DATIVE CASE. Dative case allomorphy in Shor exhibits the effects of voicing and vowel harmony alternations: *ɣa, ge, qa, ke, de*. Dative-marked participles are governed by emotive verbs, e.g. *yrgen* 'be glad', *kunur* 'be proud', *kølen* 'like', *kønxen* 'be amazed', *tarɨn* 'be offended', *inabasqa* 'refuse', *atɕiglan* 'be sorry', *atɕin* 'pity', *qosqal* 'worry', *ujadɨn* 'be ashamed', *qoruk* 'be afraid', *iʐen* 'hope', *pyt* 'believe'. These predicates may express both positive and negative emotion.

(25)   silerdiŋ pistiŋ zavod-qa   kel-e   per-gen-neriŋ-e   partɕazɨ
       your   our factory-DAT   come-CV AUX-PART-POSS.2PL-DAT   everyone
       yrgyny-ʂ-ti-ler
       be.glad-PERF-3PL.
       'Everyone is glad about your coming to our factory.'

(26)   silerdiŋ pedtehnikum-da   eede tɕaqʂɨ yrgen-tɕatqan-nariŋ-a   pis
       your teacher.ed.school-DAT   so   well study-PART-POSS.2PL-DAT we
       yrgynyʂ-tɕa-bɨs
       be.glad-PRES-1PL.

       'we're glad you teach so well in the teacher education school.'

(27)   meeŋ pal-lar-im   ʂkol   yrgedig-i-n
       My   child-PL-POSS.1SG   school study-POSS.3SG-ACC
       tyget-ken-nerin-e   tiŋ yrgyn-di-m
       finish-PRT-POSS.3PL-DAT very be.glad-PERF-1SG.
       'I am glad that my children have finished school.'

(28)   meeŋ Moskva-da   yrgen-tɕitqa-m-ɣa   men yrgyn-tɕa-m
       My   Moscow-DAT study-PART-POSS.1SG-DAT I   be.glad-PRES-1SG

       'I am glad to be studying in Moscow.'

(29)   men sag-a   mannaaja tɕør-gen-i-m-ge   ol kølen-men-tɕa
       I   you-DAT often   go-PART-POSS-1SG-DAT he like-NEG-PRES.3SG
       'He doesn't like me going to see you often.'

3.5. LATIVE CASE. The lative allomorphs in Shor are *naŋ* and *neŋ*, with the vowel alternating based on harmony. Lative-marked participles are governed by verbs of negative emotion, e.g. *ujadɨn* 'be ashamed', *qoruq* 'be afraid', *tɕeksin* 'be upset', *egen* 'be shy'.

(30)   øzbek   til-in-ge   oŋna-baan-tɕatqan-i-naŋ
       Uzbek language-POSS.3SG-DAT know-NEG-PART-1SG-LAT
       atɕiji-kel-di-m

be. upset-AUX-PERF-1SG.

'I became upset that I do not know the Uzbek language.'

(31)   tɕakʂɨ sarna-p pol-baan-ɨ-naŋ   tiŋ   egen-di
        well   sing-CV AUX-NEG-POSS.3SG-LAT   very   be.shy-PERF.3SG
        'Unable to sing well, s/he is very shy.'

(32)   men po   nebe-ni   iʂ-been-tɕatkan-im-naŋ   qoruq-tɕam
        I   this thing-ACC work-NEG-PART-ISG-LAT be.afraid-P RES. ISG
        'I am not doing this because I am afraid.'

(33)   anɨ   kitɕig pala oʂqaʂ itɕe-zi   søk-ken-i-neŋ
        PRON little child PSTP mother-PO SS.3SG be.angry-PART-POSS.3SG-LAT

        qoruq-qan
        be.afraid-PAST.3SG.

        'He was afraid that his mother would get angry as she did when he was a little
        child'

4. ANALYSIS. The present data shows that participial and matrix clauses show a scale of morphosyntactic integration/nominalization (cf. Givon 2009: 86ff) in that: (1) some have coreferential matrix and embedded subjects; (2) some have possessive marking of the embedded subject; (3) all have object marking of the entire participial clause; (4) the possessive suffix may be embedded in accusative, dative and lative-marked participles. Differential participle marking seen in the data reveals a pattern of morphological iconicity on both semantic and formal levels. Semantically, we observe a generalization of prototypical case-marking functions, while formally we observe a stacking of participle markers to mark more complex functions.

Of all case markers, accusative marked participles code the greatest degree of energy flow between participants, implying some kind of object transformation. Such participles are governed by cognition/utterance verbs that presuppose active manipulation of propositional content by the subject. As such, predicates with accusative marking retain their prototypical verbal properties: on a cognitive continuum, prototypical verbs code situations that are dynamic and changing, while prototypical nouns code time-stable situations. Accusative case is one that presupposes the greatest degree of object transformation or change; as such, predicates with accusatively marked arguments are more likely to be more dynamic (rather than static) and, from a cognitive standpoint, to be more resistant to conceptual integration and attendant nominalization. Crucially, accusative suffixes are stacked onto possessive ones, a structurally iconic fact that signals resistance to the integration of situations expressed in matrix and embedded clauses.

The differential iconic marking of lative and dative marked participles can be explained by a crosslinguistic continuum of binding proposed by (Givon 1980: 345), whereby binding is understood as the degree of emotional commitment which the subject/agent of the main clause exhibits/feels with respect to the possibility of the event/state/action recorded in the complement clause being or becoming true. In the present data, both dative and lative marked participles code an emotional state of the speaker. Datives cover the domain of emotion in general, tending toward positive emotion, while latives are

specialized for the expression of negative emotion. The dative case is prototypically used to code a transfer of benefit. Since positive emotion is generally desirable, it is unsurprising that the dative is used to code the subject's desire of the benefit of positive emotion. The lative case is used to code movement toward an object. As such it is prototypically used to code peripheral roles in a sentence and implies less involvement of the subject. Since negative emotion is generally undesirable, it is unsurprising that the lative is used on participles to code a weaker flow of energy between the subject and the source of negative emotion.

Possessive-marked participles code information that is most emotionally neutral, and dynamically weakest. Both perception and assessment predicates, which trigger possessive marking are inherently stative. It is therefore natural that it is coded with possessive marking; the relationship between possessor and possessed is a stative one and does not imply a change of state such as a transfer of benefit, object transformation, or estrangement. Concomitantly, the embedded clause is singly marked by a possessive morpheme. Possessive morphology is a common nominalizing strategy cross-linguistically; e.g. gerunds in English *I don't like your coming here* (cf. *I don't like you coming here* and *I don't like (it) that you come here)*.

While cognition predicates can govern both accusative and possessive marked participles, there is a difference between the two constructions. Accusative marking pre-supposes active manipulation of propositional content by the subject, a fact which manifests itself in the co-referentiality of subjects in matrix and embedded clauses. At the same time, possessive-marked participles are governed by reflexive predicates with a syntactically suppressed human participant.

5. CONCLUSION. The analysis of the Shor participle data leads us to posit the following continuum of participle binding, based on the type of governing predicate, participial morphology, and the propositional content of the participial clause:

FIGURE 1. Continuum of Binding in Shor

ACCUSATIVE	LATIVE	DATIVE	POSSESSIVE
'know'	'be ashamed'	'be glad'	'hear'
'think'	'be upset'	'like'	'see'
'keep'	'be afraid'	'be proud'	
'hear'	'be shy'	'be amazed'	'important'
'see'			'easy'
'notice'		'hope'	'difficult'
'say'		'believe'	'good'
			'bad'
'tell'		'worry'	
'ask'		'be afraid'	
'feel'		'be sorry'	
'forget'		'be ashamed'	
'advise'		'refuse'	

→

binding

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ORALITY AND THE FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

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Abstract. This paper investigates the versatility and appropriateness of Roman Jakobson's six functions of language as a tool for discourse analysis. The paper uses an analysis of the functions of language employed in a story from the Caribbean island of Saint Vincent, recorded on the island in 1996, about the 1902 eruption of the Soufriere volcano. The analysis will show that the functions, founded on central features of language, can be used to reveal the underlying motivations of the teller. Jacobson's poetic function can be seen as the basis of Walter Ong's theories concerning the use of language in oral cultures. The analysis will show that the story illustrates features which Ong cites as characteristic of narratives in an oral culture, and that at the center of the story an implicit allusion to Carib beliefs about a god of the volcano turns the story into a vehicle for ideas concerning the heritage of the Vincentian Caribs.

Key Words: semiotics, Caribs, Black Caribs, Garifuna, Saint Vincent, orality, literacy
Language: English

1.**Introduction.** This paper will present an analysis of a story told in a conversation conducted in 1996 with a Vincentian Carib informant. This conversation was among fourteen that were conducted and recorded over a two-week period with people from three Saint Vincent Carib communities in Sandy Bay, Greggs, and Rose Bank. The conversation is a narrative account of the 1902 eruption of the Soufriere volcano as it was told to the informant, Mabel Hooper, by her grandfather.

While this story was told as part of a very general and wide-ranging conversation with the informant, certain features of it suggest that it might be influenced by a larger and older oral tradition among the Caribs of Saint Vincent. In his introduction to Father Adrien Le Breton's very early account of the Caribs, based on Father Le Breton's time living with them from 1693 to 1702, Father Robert Divonne, writing in the 1990s, alludes to a tradition among the Caribs of orally passing on the history of their people:

> The Caribs of St. Vincent were not able to write their history, but they remembered it. In the presence of Father Adrien Le Breton, they were proud to tell their oral traditions climbing back to 500 years earlier. Sometime in the 11th century they freed themselves from the yoke of the Arawaks who had enslaved them on the continent. Their ancestors spread throughout the islands of the Caribbean, driving from them their hereditary enemies who had settled there. Today, Prof. Fred Olsen has confirmed their story through his archaeological findings. He has followed the trail of the Arawak, as well as their pursuers, from the basin of the Orinoco River to the farthest islands of the Caribbean Archipelago (Le Breton 1998: 11).[1]

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[1] See Olsen (1973).

The anthropologist C. J. M. R. Gullick lived among the Saint Vincent Caribs during the 1970s and subsequently published a study of their mythology under the title, *Myths of a Minority* (1985). Gullick's study shows the remarkable extent to which these myths had preserved the cultural identity of this small minority from pre-Columbian times up to the 1970s. We will see that Mabel Hooper's story about the eruption of La Soufriere alludes to a Carib myth that enabled the Caribs to situate natural events such as the volcanic eruption firmly within the parameters of their world view.

In his book *From Oral to Literate Culture*, Peter Roberts says that West Indian societies in "the formative period of West Indian vernaculars . . . were predominantly oral." Citing Walter Ong (1982), Roberts points out that in oral societies the wisdom and knowledge of the community is passed on orally from one generation to the next. Without the use of writing such communication depends a great deal on memory devices, such as the use of formulaic language. According to Ong, "in an oral culture, knowledge, once acquired had to be constantly repeated or it would be lost: fixed formulaic thought patterns were essential for wisdom and effective administration" (1982: 24).

With the gradual introduction of education to the descendants of the former enslaved populations of the West Indies, and with the increasing exposure of these communities to printed texts of various kinds, these oral societies were gradually transformed into literate societies. However, according to Roberts, "it is only in the case of isolated communities like the Black Caribs [of Saint Vincent] that it was possible to be outside the influence of literacy in such small islands" (1997: 108). In other words, an oral culture possibly persisted among the communities of Black Caribs in Saint Vincent beyond the nineteenth century, perhaps well into the first few decades of the twentieth century when our storyteller, Mrs. Hooper, first heard her Grandfather's account of the eruption of the Soufriere in 1902.

According to Ong (1982), in an oral society, in order to be able to call back to mind thoughts that you have carefully worked out,

> [y]our thought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulary expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly, the meal, the duel, the hero's 'helper', and so on), in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall, or in other mnemonic form (34).

2. METHOD AND ANALYTICAL TOOLS. Before we look at this story, I will introduce briefly here the methodology used in collecting the data, and the main analytical tools used to talk about this text.

The informants for the conversations recorded were located with the help of local Carib contacts. The conversations were all taped using a small hand-held recording device and subsequently two of these conversations, one of which contained the story analyzed here, were chosen for transcription. These two conversations were chosen because they were the only ones among the fourteen recorded that contained substantial stretches of discourse of a narrative nature, with the informants telling or retelling a specific story with a connected series of events. The story analyzed here is one of these two conversations.

I begin by regarding this story as an instance of communication between the informant and the investigator. Roman Jakobson's functions of language grow directly out of his analysis of the elements of communication. These elements are those that Jakobson referred to as "the

constitutive factors in any speech event," as diagrammed in **Figure 1** (Jakobson 2003: 109). Apart from an addresser, an addressee, and a message, communication also involves making contact between the interlocutors, putting the message into a mutually understood code or language, and sharing a context. Each of Jakobson's corresponding six functions of language (**Figure 2**) is related to a focus on one of these six elements of the communicative situation. We can see this correspondence clearly by comparing the following two figures (Jakobson, 2003: 109-114):
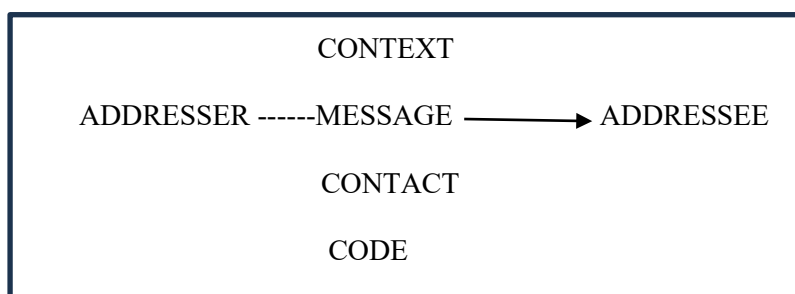
Figure 1. The Elements of communication
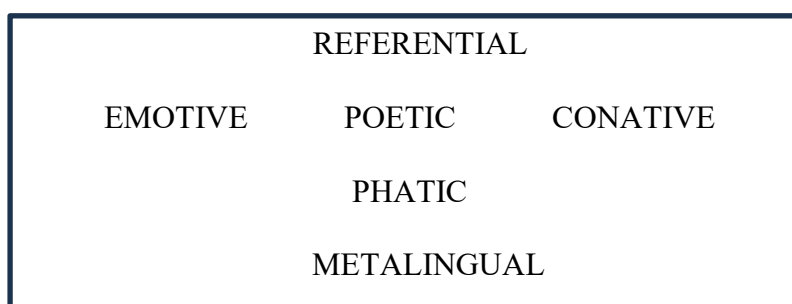
Figure 2. The functions of language

A function is engaged when the message or discourse focuses on a corresponding element of communication. However, according to Jakobson, although a particular discourse will often focus throughout on one of these functions, it must inevitably make use of others to a greater or lesser degree. In Jakobson's words, "the diversity lies not in a monopoly of some one of these several functions but in a different hierarchical order of functions" (Jakobson 2003: 109). If we then understand a particular discourse as corresponding to a particular hierarchical ordering of these six functions, we might understand the main function of a particular discourse as being its superordinate function, with the other functions taking on subordinate roles. For example, if the addresser says to the addressee, "Mary, will you please open that window," we might very roughly attribute the following hierarchical ordering of the six functions to this discourse:
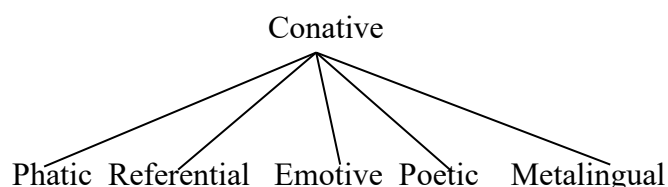

Figure 3. Hierarchical ordering of the functions in "Mary, will you please open the window"

Figure 3 represents the hierarchical ordering of the functions in this sentence as dominated by the conative function because of the focus of the addresser on getting the addressee, Mary, to do something—namely to open the window. The other functions are all necessarily engaged

because they are present in all communicative events. We could say that the phatic function is used when the addresser calls Mary's name, and that the referential function is used in the reference to a specific window. The emotive function is engaged in that the request indicates the addresser's discomfort. In this particular communicative event, the poetic and metalingual functions seem to be engaged only in so far as there is a message in a mutually understood code.

Since in the analyses that follow, I will be putting a special emphasis on the poetic function, it is useful to note that according to Jakobson, this function, which draws attention to the message itself, "by promoting the palpability of signs, deepens the fundamental dichotomy of signs and objects" (2003: 112). That is, the poetic function makes us aware of the difference between words and the things that they stand for, and in so doing opens the way for alternate interpretations of the message. For example, while Hooper's story is about the 1902 eruption of the Soufriere, its main themes call to mind central issues in the broader history and culture of the Vincentian Caribs.

1. THE 1902 ERUPTION OF THE SOUFRIERE[2]. The informant, Mabel Hooper, was ninety years old at the time of the interview. She reported her educational background as being self-taught and related her story as part of a longer conversation that took place at her home at Rose Bank on the leeward side of Saint Vincent in the company of a schoolteacher guide and several members of Mrs. Hooper's family. Mrs. Hooper had served for many years as a midwife on the leeward side of the island. Here is the text of her story, which I have divided into five sections for easy reference later.

> 1. Hooper: He tell me when the Soufre going to erupt, they started to see lots of small thing . . . you know , you know those boys does make some little boat on the sea here? Yes . . . lots of little boats sailing out from Morne Ronde going out. He don't know where they going. Small boat with white sail. He say he calling the people a them and showing them because he live more pon the hill to the beach on Morne Ronde. And when he call the others and they come, they looking at the little boats with white sail early morning and they going. They don't see when they come back. Late evening they will see them again going. They don't know where they went.

> 2. Hooper: And it wasn't a month after, the volcano start. So the bigger older people now give in, those are the people who were living in the crater. So they sailing out they vessel going. That's what they told me too. Because they don't know where they come from. White, white boat and sail. They ain seeing people, but they see the boat.

> Gonsalves: They believe that those people lived in the volcano?

> Hooper: . . . in the volcano!!

> Gonsalves: Ooh, I see.

> Hooper: Because no houses around. Only they fu them own.

> 3. Hooper: Well they find out that the Soufre was goin to erupt. And my . . . my grandfather told me is . . . and how all they did get to move out from the Soufre.

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[2] See Anderson & Flett (1903) for a detailed report on the eruption, written only one year later.

He say well we see it start to smoke, and we hear rolling, and we feel like the earth shaking. And everybody pick up, and they have boat, and they leave out Morne Ronde. They ain go so. They come this way. They go in a town. And the Soufre sweep down the country.

4. He say they have five days out, and they still was feeling shaking.
Some a them in boat come up where they can see what is happening on the land.

But they say a little puff a smoke was coming out from the crater. But the crater had plop down. They say it plop down, but just a circle leave down there, with a little water. And when nothing coming, yet again nothing happening, nothing happening, well the bigger men them now start to stroll to see what can be done and what is happening.

And they go up. They get up the road, and they get up pon the hill. He say they don't see no water down there. Just the empty bottom. As you haul out a foundation and you see the naked dirt.

5. From that they began to make back their cultivation. And they go back there. I don't remember what he tell me. . . . . . the government give them land around in the area. And some a them build they little house, and they still go back there, and build there, and stay there, and work the land.

With respect to the question of which of Jakobson's six functions of language is most dominant in Mrs. Hooper's story it seems clear that it is the referential function. For example, section 1 seems concerned with reference in an almost essential way. The narrator is concerned enough to identify the kind of boats her grandfather was talking about to take timeout from her narrative to make sure that her addressees have a point of reference to a more familiar and similar kind of boat. Her interpolation—"you know, you know those boys does make some little boat on the sea here?"—illustrates the phatic function, maintaining contact with the addressee to facilitate communication; but the contact is made in order to ensure successful reference to the appropriate kind of boats. In addition, the picture of her grandfather on the hill above Morne Ronde calling others to his privileged point of view and pointing out to them the small boats with white sails, apparently at some point in the distance, is an act of ostensive definition that secures future reference to these mysterious boats, precursors and, in retrospect, ominous harbingers of the violent eruption of the volcano.

On the referential level the question of the identity of the individuals sailing the "small boats with white sail" is answered in a somewhat equivocal way in the next section: they were believed to be people who lived in the crater of the Soufriere. But the unlikelihood of this scenario deepens the mystery of who the sailors actually were. Her grandfather told her that "the bigger older" people of the village concluded that the people in the small boats lived in the crater, and other people told her the same thing too: the scenario is so incredible that it requires independent corroboration. Again, in section 3 the referential function dominates.

But at the same time the poetic function is very prominent throughout the story. In the first section, the repeated reference to the "small boats with white sail" going out, sailing out, in the morning and again in the late evening, together with the two negations in "they don't know when they come back" and "they don't know where they went," create a sense of mystery (there is a lot we do not know about the boats) and a languid mood of peace and innocence (after all, these boats seem tiny and nothing more than childhood toys). There is a rhythmic pattern and repetition in the parallel structure of "They don't see when they come back," and

"They don't know where they went." We see a remarkably clear and effective use of antithesis in the two underlined phrases marked [a] and those marked [b] in the following: "they looking[a] at the little boats with white sail early morning and they going[b]. They don't see[a] when they come back[b]." And there is a notable use of assonance in "he live more p*o*n the hill to the beach on M*o*rne R*o*nde," with the repetition of the same vowel sound in syllables articulated with stress, indicated here in italics and underlined.

In section 2, with the mention of the first rumblings of the volcano a month later, the mystery is revealed, the identity of the sailors of the small boats is determined. Again here there is assonance in the very first sentence in the phrase "it w*a*sn't a m*o*nth *a*ft*e*r," with the first two underlined, italicized vowels all stressed and having the phonetic value [ʌ], and the second two having the value[æ]; and there is antithesis, repetition, and a rhythmic pattern in "They ain seeing the people, but they see the boat."

These first two sections together follow the pattern of mystery followed by revelation, with a great deal of repetition, especially in repeated references to the small boats with white sails. Further, in section 3, the rhythm of the last few sentences first mimics the frantic rush to the relative safety of Kingstown with the use of three short, abrupt, sentences of motion ("They ain go so. They come this way. They go in a town."), and then concludes with the metaphor of the erupting Soufriere as a giant broom that "sweep down the country." The poetic function seems to be at work here both in the imitation of the frantic rush to safety, as well as in the aptness of the broom metaphor in suggesting the image of the lava flows down the slopes of the mountain and the accompanying plumes of grey clouds and dust.

In section 4 the people tentatively explore the results of the volcanic eruption five days later, first from boats at some distance from the land, and later, when they have determined that "nothing happening, nothing happening," from the height of the volcano itself. From there they can see that the crater, the supposed home of the people of the "small boats with white sails," has collapsed, leaving "no water down there," just "the naked dirt." Again, we have in this section a mixture of the referential and poetic functions. The referential function is seen in the focus on describing the post-eruption state of the crater. The poetic function can be seen in the manner of the description, with use of repetition, antithesis, and a simile, and also in the appropriateness of the choice of words. There is repetition of "plop down," "nothing," "happening," and "get up"; and there is a use of antithesis between "up" and "down" in the last five sentences in the description of the men going up the volcano and then looking down into the crater. The last sentence contains a simile comparing the appearance of the crater to what is left after "haul[ing] out" a foundation. Finally, the use of the phrase "naked dirt" is apt; the eruption has removed the water and exposed the bottom of the crater.

The final short section serves to highlight the indomitable spirit of the people. As elsewhere, the referential function, just laying out what happened, is compounded by the poetic function, as seen especially in the terse rhythmic repetition of structure in "and they still go back there, and build there, and stay there, and work the land."

Given this general understanding of the major elements of the story, of its major concepts and the tension that exists in it between the referential function and the poetic function, we can see the possibility of different meanings in the story. From its strong referential function we can take away a purely realistic interpretation as a straightforward account of the original storyteller's experience of what happened when the Soufriere volcano in Saint Vincent erupted in 1902. On this purely referential level it is still a very remarkable story of how some people who lived perhaps barely three miles from the center of the volcano were able to save themselves from what was a very deadly eruption, devastating about a third of the northern

portion of the island and killing, as we know from the historical accounts, at least 1,500 people.[3]

But the extraordinary poetic quality of the story seems to invite an alternative interpretation that is hinted at when our storyteller says in section 2 of the story "that's what they told me too." Here she is using the emotive function of language (the function that focuses here on "me," the addresser) to express her attitude to the story that she is retelling. It is almost as if she is saying, "look, I know this might sound ridiculous, but I didn't make this up, it is just what I was told." What she seems to be apologizing for here is the explanation that the people who sailed the "small boats with white sails" in the month before the eruption of the La Soufriere in 1902 were "the people who were living in the crater." Now, in a fascinating article about some interesting archaeological features of this area, Claudius Fergus surmises that the Amerindian petroglyphs of Petit Bordel, located less than two miles from Rose Bank, might have been sites of rituals designed to "appease the gods who dwell in the bowels of the volcano." He goes on to talk about Yocahu, the Arawakan God of the volcano, and suggests that

> to locate the home of their creator god in the hellhole of a crater is a most powerful cosmological problematic. It definitely speaks to the overarching importance of the volcano in the lives of these culture groups, and of native peoples in the Lesser Antilles on a whole. (Fergus 2003)

According to Kirby & Martin (2004:11), women in early Carib communities were either captive Arawaks or the female descendants of Arawaks, so a knowledge of Arawakan gods most likely existed in Carib communities. When our little story about the eruption of La Soufriere in 1902 is examined in the light of this brief analysis combined with these ideas from an archeologist who has studied this area carefully, the Carib traditions underlying the story become clear. "The people who were living in the crater" might very well be "the gods who dwell in the bowels of the volcano," and the story, with the prominence that it gives to the volcano, the sea, the boats and the people, becomes a vessel for the proud Arawak Carib Garifuna heritage of our storyteller.

6. CONCLUSION. An analysis of Mabel Hooper's story using Roman Jakobson's functions of language demonstrates its strong reliance on the poetic function of language. When we go on to look at the difference between storytelling in an oral versus a literate culture we see that the greater use of the poetic function, which, according to Jakobson, has the characteristic of drawing greater attention to the form of the message, is a direct consequence of the way thought and expression are structured in an oral culture, with much greater reliance, according to Ong, on formulaic expressions, rhythmic patterns, and other mnemonic devices that are needed to enable recall in a culture where writing and written texts are largely absent. Mabel Hooper's story, a recollection of what her grand-father told her, employs several of these devices and in doing so, suggests that it represents a beautiful remnant near the end of the twentieth century of the rich oral tradition of the Vincentian Caribs.

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[3] "Volcanic Activity in the Eastern Caribbean," University of the West Indies seismic research center, Caribbean Volcanoes | The UWI Seismic Research Centre (accessed August 3, 2023).

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